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3

Anal.

COLLECTIONS

St. Paul, Minn. OF THE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

VOLUME I.

See pp. 46-51. 340-342.

BEING A REPUBLICATION OF THE ORIGINAL PARTS
ISSUED IN 1850-51-52-53-56.

C

ST. PAUL:
RAMALEY, CHANEY & CO., PRINTERS.
1872.

Harvard Depository
L. Soc. 120. Mn. 5

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

OF THE LEGISLATURE AUTHORIZING THE PUBLICATION OF THIS VOLUME.

WHEREAS, The first volume of the Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society is now out of print, and as it contains valuable historical and geographical matter and information concerning the State, which it is desirable should be disseminated abroad among those seeking information regarding it, therefore

Resolved by the Senate, (the House concurring) that the Minnesota Historical Society is authorized to reprint the first volume of their Collections, and said edition shall consist of one thousand copies, to be bound in muslin; and the State Auditor is hereby directed to audit the bills for the said work, and draw warrants for the payment thereof, out of the general printing fund.

J. B. CHANEY,
STATE PRINTER.

PREFACE TO THIS EDITION.

The first volume of the Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society, issued in parts from 1850 to 1856, has been out of print for several years. Other volumes, or parts, have been issued meantime, and the demand for the first volume to complete sets, is constantly increasing. The Society has therefore concluded, by permission of the Legislature, to reprint it, and in so doing, to make such changes and improvements as seemed necessary, by correcting typographical and other errors.

The volume of which this is a reprint, was composed of five parts, or pamphlets, issued in various years. The titles are as follows:

1. ANNALS of the MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Saint Paul: Printed by James M. Goodhue, 1850. 8°; pp. 32. [Two editions printed.]
2. ANNALS of the MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, for the year A. D., 1850-1. Comprising an Address of the President; the annual report of the Secretary; two papers by S. R. Riggs, one on the "Destiny of the Indian Tribes," the other on the "Dakota Language;" and lastly, "A Memoir of the History and Physical Geography of Minnesota," &c., &c. St. Paul; D. A. Robertson, Printer, 1851. 8°; pp. 184.
3. ANNALS of the MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY: 1852; containing the annual address by J. H. Simpson, First Lieut. Corps U. S. Topographical Engineers; and other papers. Published by order of the Executive Council, St. Paul. Owens & Moore, Printers, *Minnesotian* Office. 8°; pp., 64.
4. ANNALS of the MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, for 1853. Number IV. Printed by order of the Executive Council, St. Paul; Owens & Moore, Printers, 1853. 8°: pp., 72.
5. MATERIALS FOR THE FUTURE HISTORY OF MINNESOTA: being a report of the Minnesota Historical Society, to the Legislative Assembly, in accordance with a Joint Resolution. Fifteen hundred copies ordered to be printed for the use of the Legislature. St. Paul: Joseph R. Brown, Territorial Printer, *Pioneer and Democrat* Office, 1856. Royal 8°: pp. 142.

Excepting the last named part, only a small edition of each was printed, and imperfectly distributed. Most of them were printed at the expense of the Society, whose membership at that time was small, and the fees difficult to collect; and were executed by different publishers, under varying circumstances. Hence their style, size, &c., is not uniform, and they are not consecutively paged. A fact that detracts from the value and convenience of the volume as a whole, while the poor typography and paper, though the best that could then be procured in the Territory, have always created an unfavorable impression against the work, when compared with the neat publications of other institutions.

Some portions of the earlier numbers are omitted in this reprint, (such as letters read at annual meetings, lists of donations, tables of distances, meterological notes, acts of Legislature, etc.,) because, though useful and interesting at the time, their value at present will not warrant us in re-printing them. Much of the original Parts was designed to influence mmigration, and disseminate abroad information regarding the climate, soil, topography, and advantages of the Territory. These, unless they contain historical facts, are not repeated.

A few notes have been added to this edition, explanatory of the text, and bringing down information on the subject to the present date. They are enclosed in [ ] brackets. A brief sketch of the Society from its organization to the present year, and a list of the officers, past and present, are affixed to this preface, while a copious index of names and subjects will be found at the close.

We take pleasure in sending out this volume to our members and correspondents, feeling assured that the value of its articles on early Minnesota history and biography, will make it interesting and useful to all persons investigating the history of our State, and worthy to lead the series of volumes of our Collections already issued, or to be published hereafter.

THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Territory of Minnesota was created by an Act of Congress approved March 3, 1849, and the first session of the Legislature assembled on Sept. 3, of the same year. The fifth act passed by that body was the Charter of the Minnesota Historical Society, to be found on page 10. Under this Charter the Society was organized on Nov. 15, 1849. The Society was instituted by a few gentlemen who were among the earliest settlers of the Territory, and had its origin in the conviction felt by them that the unparalleled growth and advancement of the Northwest, particularly of the region now known as Minnesota, unmistakably devolved upon the men of to-day the duty of taking active and successful means to procure a true record of its past history. The races that once inhabited this region were rapidly disappearing, and all account of their religion, customs and history were fading away as rapidly, to be soon lost unless recorded. The brave and daring pioneers of the Northwest, who explored its vast rivers and lakes, and first traversed the great prairies and forests of our State, planting the mission house or the trading post in those wilds, and whose exploits, escapes, perils and achievements constitute the romantic period of our history, were becoming well nigh forgotten. While the no less interesting and wonderful events of the present generation, the settlement of the Territory, the peopling and tilling of our vast prairies and forests, the building of extensive railroads and other public works, and the marvellous rise of our towns and cities, with all the institutions of the highest civilization, and whose rapid growth have been unexampled in history—these would all be lost, or so imperfectly recorded as to be almost useless to posterity, without some institution like this, whose especial object it should be to collect and preserve those memorials. The fact that an institution of this nature was organized at the very beginning of society in this State, which in older states had generally been the outgrowth of wealth, culture and time, was a matter of surprise to those not familiar with the energy with which western men in the early stages of society provide themselves with the institutions of older communities. As the editor

of a New York paper said—"there is nothing too flattering to predict of the future greatness and prosperity of a people who commence to write their history as soon as the foundations of their Commonwealth are laid."

It was not, however, a very encouraging prospect for an institution of that kind. The population of St. Paul was only 400 or 500, and there were but three or four towns in the Territory, which was then still occupied by the Indians, and had altogether not over 1,500 white inhabitants. These were mostly poor settlers, and in the struggle for subsistence in a new country, still a wilderness, had scarcely leisure or means to cultivate æsthetics or write or study history. Consequently the development of the Society was very slow during the first few years. In 1858 there were only 441 volumes in the Library, and those of minor value.

The first annual meeting of the Society was held January 1, 1850, at which Rev. E. D. NEILL delivered the historical address given in the present volume, which, with other papers, was published soon after, as a part of the Collections of the Society, and assisted greatly in introducing it to the notice of scholars abroad.

There was also much difficulty during the first four or five years to procure a suitable place to hold the meetings of the Society and to deposit its collections. The Capitol was not completed until 1853, and meantime the meetings were held at the office of the Territorial Secretary and other places, until Nov. 1855, when a room was provided in the Capitol for the permanent use of the Society.

Meantime the annual meetings of the Society had been regularly held in public, important and valuable papers read and addresses delivered, which, with other contributions concerning the early history of Minnesota, were published in pamphlet form yearly during the years 1850, 1851, 1852 and 1853, and circulated as widely as the means of the Socieiy would permit.

In 1851 an important contribution to philology was secured through the co-operation of the Society, viz: the Grammar and Dictionary of the Dakota Language, written by Rev. S. R. RIGGS and other members of the Dakota Mission. The cost of printing the work and its necessarily small sale would have been an insuperable barrier to its publication, had not the Society by means of committees procured subscribers enough to justify the expense of the work, and thus really gave to our aboriginal literature this remarkable contribution.

In 1855, the improved condition of the Society, seemed to call for means to provide a future permanent edifice for its use. It was therefore resolved to procure a tract of ground, while it could be done cheaply,

for a library building for the Society. The only way this could be accomplished was by raising a fund from the sale of Life Memberships, at $25 each, and without much delay, sixty-two of our citizens became life members. With the proceeds two lots on the corner of Wabasha and Tenth streets, in a very eligible and central location, were purchased at a total cost of $1,531. This was a judicious and fortunate step for the Society, as the property is now worth ten-fold the amount paid.

On Nov. 27, 1855, the Society met for the first time, says the minutes, "in the Hall set apart in the Capitol for their use, and properly furnished with shelves." For the first time they were able to open their doors to the public, in a suitable and permanent location.

The Legislature of 1856, at the suggestion and request of the Society, passed an Act appropriating $500 annually to aid it in accomplishing its work. A Joint Resolution was also passed, requesting Rev. E. D. Neill, Secretary of the Society, to prepare a compilation of materials for the History of Minnesota, of which 1,500 copies were ordered to be printed.

The rapid increase of population at that time, and the equally sudden enhancement of value in real estate, with the consequent speedy acquisition of wealth by all classes of our citizens, led the Society to believe that means could be procured for the erection of a hall on its property; and with perhaps too little deliberation, it was resolved to commence the same. On June 24, 1856, the corner stone of the proposed building was laid with Masonic and other ceremonies. An oration was pronounced by Lieut. M. F. Maury of the U. S. Navy, and a number of distinguished guests were in attendance. A procession composed of the civic societies of St. Paul and other towns in the Territory, with a military escort consisting of Capt. (now Gen.) Thos. W. Sherman's famous battery from Fort Snelling, marched through the principal streets, forming altogether an occasion of much interest. The foundation walls of the building were completed, but here further work was discontinued, and never resumed, after several hundred dollars had been expended in the project. It is now conceded that the effort to erect a building at that time, was somewhat premature. No mode of raising the $15,000 necessary had been determined on, nor a cent subscribed towards it, and a plan of the building had not even been provided. The inflated condition and ease of the money market at the date mentioned, had led the Society to believe that the means necessary could be raised without trouble. This would probably have been the case, but before any farther funds were collected, the financial revolution of 1857 occurred, and any farther effort to complete the building was abandoned and never resumed.

In Jan. 1858, William H. Kelley, Esq., was appointed Librarian, for want of which officer but little progress had thitherto been made in col-

lecting a Library, but which now rapidly increased. The year 1859 was one of much financial distress in the State. Treasury warrants, (or "State Scrip" as it was termed,) were scarcely worth 50 cents on the dollar, and in view of these facts, and to lighten the burdens on the State, the Society waived its right to the annual appropriation due under the Act of 1856, and did not renew its claim to the same until 1864, when the State had become amply able to again aid it. This suspension of its work, however, at a period when so much could have been done with adequate means—a period so fraught with "historic" events, was a serious, almost an irreparable injury to the Society. It was absolutely left without means to pay a postage bill. Its membership was small, while it was found almost impossible in those "hard times" to collect funds for an institution that had practically ceased work. During a part of the time its most active officers and members were absent in the army. One or two efforts were made by an annual meeting, and a course of lectures to infuse life into the Society, but the great desideratum—"means"—was still wanting, and nothing could be done for several years but maintain a nominal existence.

From this dormant state the Society was resuscitated in the winter of 1863–4. The Legislature renewed its annual appropriation, and a number of active gentlemen were admitted to membership. The Society resumed work under flattering prospects, and from this period dates its real success. Its apartment in the Capitol being needed for other purposes, rooms were rented in Ingersoll's Block, and placed under the care of the Librarian of the "St. Paul Library," in the same edifice. The publication of its collections was also resumed.

In 1868, the Legislature caused commodious apartments in the Capitol to be prepared for the Society, to which its Library and Museum was removed in October of that year. In 1869 the Legislature somewhat increased their annual allowance, which has enabled the Society to employ a Librarian permanently, since which time the rooms have been constantly open to the public, and the fine and valuable library of the Society has been largely used.

At present, the Library of the Society contains over 5,000 bound and 10,000 unbound volumes, (including 360 bound volumes of newspapers), and a fine collection of Maps, Manuscripts, Portraits, Curiosities, Engravings, &c., the whole cheaply valued at $15,000. Our real estate is worth an equal sum, making $30,000 which the Society has accumulated by good management, more than four times the amount which it has ever received from the public funds. This, it must be remembered, is the property of the people of the State, which the Society is obliged, as Trustees, to hold in trust for their use. We mention these facts from no un-

worthy pride, but that our condition and objects may be properly understood, and the Society accorded its proper place among the institutions of the State, creditable alike to a generous policy in supporting it, and to the intelligence, culture and liberality of the people.

CHARTER.

"AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MINNESOTA."

"*Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Minnesota:*

That C. K. Smith, David Olmsted, H. H. Sibley, Aaron Goodrich, David Cooper, B. B. Meeker, A. M. Mitchell, T. R. Potts, J. C. Ramsey, H. M. Rice, F. Steele, Charles W. Borup, D. B. Loomis, M. S. Wilkinson, L. A. Babcock, Henry Jackson, W. D. Phillips, Wm. H. Forbes, Martin McLeod, and their associates, be, and they are hereby constituted a body corporate and politic, by the name and style of the 'Minnesota Historical Society;' and by that name, they and their successors shall be, and they are hereby made capable in law, to contract and be contracted with, sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, prosecute and defend, answer and be answered in any court of record or elsewhere, and to hold any estate, real, personal, or mixed, and the same to grant, sell, lease, mortgage or otherwise dispose of for the benefit of said Society, and to receive donations to be applied as the donor may direct, and to devise and keep a common seal; and to make and enforce any by-laws not contrary to the Constitution and laws of the United States or this Territory; and to enjoy all the privileges and franchises incident to a corporation, and that the property which the Society may be allowed to hold, shall not exceed five thousand dollars.

"SEC. 2. *Be it further enacted*, That any five members may at any meeting of said Society, constitute a quorum to do business, and shall within one year from and after the passage of this act, organize, and under such regulations as they may adopt, elect a President, two Vice Presidents, a Treasurer, and a Secretary, who shall record the proceedings, do the correspondence, and file all communications he may receive touching the object of the Society; which said officers shall hold their offices respectively until their successors are elected, which may take place every three years. The regular meetings of said Society shall take place on the second Monday succeeding the annual meeting of the Legislative Assembly of said Territory, at the seat of government, and the object of said Society shall be the collection and preservation of a Library, Mineralogical and Geological specimens, Indian curiosities and other matters and things connected with, and calculated to illustrate and perpetuate the history and settlement of said Territory.

Approved, Oct. 20, 1849.

"AN ACT TO AMEND AN ACT ENTITLED, 'AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MINNESOTA.'"

"*Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Minnesota.*"

SECTION 1. That in addition to the privileges and immunities granted, and duties assigned to the Minnesota Historical Society by the act approved October 20, 1849, the said Society shall be allowed to receive by bequest, donation, or purchase, any amount of property, real or personal, and shall hold the same in perpetuity, as a sacred trust for the uses and purposes of said Society, without in any manner mortgaging, or by debts encumbering such property now in possession, or thereafter to be acquired; nor shall any such property be liable, in any manner or form whatever, for any debt contracted by said Society; and the real property now vested in the Society, in the city of St. Paul, and the building hereafter to be located thereon, as a Hall for the same, and the personal property of the Society shall be exempt from taxation.

"SEC. 2. As soon as convenient after the passage of this act, the Society shall elect an executive council, consisting of not more than twenty-five members of the Society, who shall hold their office for the term of three years, and until their successors are elected, which election shall thereafter take place triennially. The executive committee shall elect and appoint all officers, and such agents and collaborators of the Society, resident and non-resident, as they may deem necessary or useful, and the Executive Council shall have the custody of all the property, real and personal of the Society, and shall frame such by-laws and constitution for their government as they may deem expedient, and do all other things not inconsistent with this act, essential to the prosperity of the Society.

"SEC. 3. The objects of said Society, with the enlarged powers and duties herein provided, shall be, in addition to the collection and preservation of publications, manuscripts, antiquities, curiosities, and other things pertaining to the social, political and natural history of Minnesota, to cultivate among the citizens thereof a knowledge of the useful and liberal arts, science, and literature.

"SEC. 4. That all acts and parts of acts, so far as they are inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed."

Approved March 1, 1856.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

PRESIDENT:

CHARLES E. MAYO.

Vice Presidents,

1. JAMES J. HILL,
2. A. GOODRICH,
3. ROBT. O. SWEENY.

Secretary and Treasurer,

J. FLETCHER WILLIAMS.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL,

Judge John M. Berry,
Capt. Russell Blakeley,
Rev. F. T. Brown, D. D.,
Josiah B. Chaney, Esq.,
Hon. E. F. Drake,
Hon. Aaron Goodrich,
Geo. A. Hamilton, Esq.,
Alfred J. Hill, Esq.,
James J. Hill, Esq.,
Rev. John Ireland,
William H. Kelley, Esq.,
Ex. Gov. Wm. R. Marshall,
Rev. John Mattocks,
Dr. Brewer Mattocks,
Charles E. Mayo, Esq.,
Rev. S. Y. McMasters, D. D.,
Hon. John L. Merriam,
Dr. J. B. Phillips,
Maj. J. P. Pond,
R. O. Sweeny, Esq.,
James W. Taylor, Esq.,
Ex. Gov. H. H. Sibley,
J. F. Williams, Esq.

STANDING COMMITTEES.

Finance—W. H. Kelley, J. P. Pond and R. Blakeley.
Library—G. A. Hamilton, W. H. Kelley and J. F. Williams.
Publications—Rev. J. Mattocks, Rev. F. T. Brown and J. B. Chaney.
Property—James J. Hill, E. F. Drake and G. A. Hamilton.
Archæology—A. J. Hill, R. O. Sweeny and A. Goodrich.
Obituaries—H. H. Sibley, W. R. Marshall and J. W. Taylor.
Lectures—Rev. Dr. Brown, Dr. McMasters and Rev. J. Ireland.
Natural History—R. O. Sweeny, J. B Chaney, and Dr. B. Mattocks.
Fine Arts—A. Goodrich, R. O. Sweeny and Dr. J. B. Phillips.

OFFICERS SINCE THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SOCIETY.

PRESIDENT:

Alex. Ramsey, 1849–63;
H. M. Rice, 1864–67;
H. H. Sibley, 1867;
Wm. R. Marshall, 1868;
Geo. A. Hamilton, 1869;
John Mattocks, 1870;
Russell Blakeley, 1871;
Chas. E. Mayo, 1872.

FIRST VICE PRESIDENT:

David Olmsted,* 1849–56;
D. A. Robertson, 1856–68;
H. H. Sibley, 1868–70;
Aaron Goodrich, 1870;
H. H. Sibley, 1871;
James J. Hill, 1872.

SECOND VICE PRESIDENT:

Martin McLeod,* 1849–54.
Thomas Foster, 1854–56;
W. R. Marshall, 1856–64;
D. W. Ingersoll, 1864–68;
A. H. Cathcart, 1868;
Wm. R. Marshall, 1869;
E. F. Drake, 1870;
F. T. Brown, 1871;
Aaron Goodrich, 1872.

THIRD VICE PRESIDENT:

Geo. L. Becker, 1855–60;
J. W. Taylor, 1860–64;
Russell Blakeley, 1864–8;
John Ireland, 1868–9;
J. P. Pond, 1870;
R. O. Sweeny, 1871–2.

SECRETARY:

Charles K. Smith,* 1849–51;
E. D. Neill, 1851–62;
Wm. H. Kelley, 1863;
Charles E. Mayo, 1864–7;
J. F. Williams, 1867–72.

TREASURER:

W. H. Forbes, 1849–54;
J. Wesley Bond, 1854–56;
Parker Paine, 1856–60;
W. H. Kelley, 1860–63;
Peter Berkey, 1864–68;
A. J. Hill, 1869–71;
J. F. Williams, 1872.

*Deceased.

OBJECTS OF COLLECTION DESIRED.

The Society respectfully appeals to its friends and correspondents to aid it by contributions to its Library. We solicit:—

Books and Pamphlets on American History, Biography and Genealogy, particularly those relating to the West; Works on our Indian Tribes, and American Archæology and Ethnology; Statistical and Scientific Publications of States or Societies; Books or Pamphets relating to the Great Rebellion; privately printed works; Newspapers; Maps and Charts; Engravings; Autographs; Coins; Antiquities; and Encyclopedias, Dictionaries and Bibliographical works of every kind. Entire sets of works are especially solicited, or collections of books on any subject, but single volumes, or pamphlets even, will be gratefully received. Especially do we desire

EVERYTHING RELATING TO OUR OWN STATE:

1. Travels and Explorations; City Directories; Copies of the earlier Laws and Journals of our Legislature; Ordinances of Cities; and, in short, every book, on any subject, printed *in* the State, or elsewhere, relating to it.
2. Pamphlets of all kinds; Catalogues of Minnesota Colleges and other Institutions of Learning; Annual Reports of Societies; Sermons and Addresses delivered in this State; Minutes of Church Conventions, Synods, or other Ecclesiastical Bodies of Minnesota; Political Addresses; Railroad and Board of Trade Reports, and every other Pamphlet relating to this State.
3. Files of Minnesota Newspapers and Magazines, especially complete volumes of past years, or single numbers even. Publishers are earnestly requested to contribute their publications regularly, all of which will be carefully preserved and bound.
4. Materials for Minnesota History; Old Letters; Journals, and Manuscript Narratives of the Pioneers of Minnesota; Original Papers on the Early History and Settlement of the Territory; Adventures and Conflicts during the Indian War or the late Rebellion; Biographies of the Pioneers of every County, either living or deceased, together with their portraits and autographs; a sketch of the settlement of every town and village in the State, with names of the first settlers. We solicit articles on every subject connected with Minnesota history.
5. Maps of Town Sites or Counties, of any date; Views and Engravings of Buildings or historic places; Drawings or Photographs of Scenery; Paintings; Portraits, &c., connected with Minnesota history.
6. Curiosities of all kinds for our Museum; Coins; Medals; Paintings; Portraits; Engravings; Statues; War Relics; Autograph Letters of distinguished persons, etc.
7. Facts illustrative of our Indian Tribes; their History; Characteristics, Religion, &c.; Sketches of their prominent Chiefs, Orators, and Warriors, together with contributions of Indian Weapons, Costumes, Ornaments, Curiosities and Implements. Also, Stone Axes, Spears, Arrow Heads, Pottery, or other relics of the pre-historic races.

In brief, *everything* that, by the most liberal construction, can illustrate the History of Minnesota; its early settlement; its progress or present condition, which will be of value or interest to succeeding generations.

All persons sending us gifts will be placed on our exchange list, and receive the publications of the Society in return.

Donations or communications may be addressed to the Secretary of the Society at St. Paul.

CONTENTS.

Preface to this edition 3
Sketch of the Society 5
Charter 10
Officers and Committees, 1872 12
Officers since the Organization 13
Objects of Collection Desired 14
Contents 15
The French Voyageurs to Minnesota during the 17th century; by Rev. E. D. NEILL 17
Description of Minnesota (1850); by Hon. H. H. SIBLEY 37
Our Field of Historical Research; by ALEX. RAMSEY 43
Organization of Minnesota Territory 53
Speech of Hon. H. H. SIBLEY, of Minn., &c 69
Early Courts of Minnesota; by Hon. AARON GOODRICH 77
Early Schools of Minnesota; by D. A. J. BAKER 81
Religious Movements in Minnesota; by Rev. C. HOBART 84
The Dakota Language; by Rev. S. R. RIGGS 89
History and Physical Geography of Minnesota; by H. R. SCHOOLCRAFT 108
Letter from Prof. W. W. MATHER, the Geologist 133
Letter of MESNARD; by Rev. E. D. NEILL 135
The Saint Louis River; by Rev. T. M. FULLERTON 139
Ancient Mounds and Memorials; by Messrs. POND, ATTON & RIGGS. 144
SCHOOLCRAFT's Exploring Tour of 1852; by Rev. W. T. BOUTWELL 153
Battle of Lake Pokeguma; by Rev. E. D. NEILL 177
Memoir of JEAN N. NICOLLET; by Hon. H. H. SIBLEY 183
A Sketch of JOSEPH RENVILLE; by Rev. E. D. NEILL 196
Department of Hudson's Bay; by Rev. G. A. BELCOURT 207
Obituary of JAMES M. GOODHUE; by Rev. E. D. NEILL 245
Dakota Land and Dakota Life; by Rev. E. D. NEILL 254
Who were the first men? by Rev. T. S. WILLIAMSON 295
LOUIS HENNEPIN, the Franciscan 302
Sieur DU LUTH, the Explorer between Mille Lacs and Lake Superior 314

* So much of this is what used as it is to anthropology.

Le Sueur, the Explorer of the Minnesota River..... 319
D'Iberville; an abstract of his memorial, &c..... 339
The Fox and Ojibwa War..... 345
Capt. Jonathan Carver and his Explorations..... 349
Pike's Explorations in Minnesota..... 368
Who Discovered Itasca Lake? by Wm. Morrison..... 417
Early Days at Fort Snelling..... 420
Running the Gantlet; by Wm. J. Snelling..... 439
Reminiscences; Historical and Personal; by Hon. H. H. Sibley... 457

THE

FRENCH VOYAGEURS TO MINNESOTA

DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

[An Address delivered by Rev. EDWARD D. NEILL, before the Annual Meeting of the Society, January 1, 1850.]

The discoverers of the Northwest, in temperament, education, religion, and pursuit, were the very opposite of those who settled on the shores of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut River. The latter were men of calm temperament and stern faith. Looking up to Heaven, acknowledging no superior but their blessed Redeemer—panting after no conquest but over their own evil desires—seeking after no hidden treasures but those hid in Christ—they sought not to extend the domination of Great Britain, nor to acquire wealth by hazardous enterprises, but were content to till the land around their immediate settlements, to study the Divine Word, and to train up their children to fear the Lord.

The former, however, were men of ardent and excitable temperament. They were stimulated both by their creed and their nation to explore new lands. They were taught that the converting of the heathen to the religion of Rome, and that conquests in behalf of the sovereign of France, were particularly meritorious.

Hence, the colonists of Acadia, accompanied by priests bound by no social ties, were ever ready to desert their farms and families to enter into lands where wealth might be obtained for their employers, or glory for their church.

While the colonists of New England were looked upon by CHARLES as outcasts, and dull, canting Roundheads, those of Acadia heard the praises of an applauding government at every step they took towards the interior of the continent. Though at times they did sow in tears, they reaped a speedy harvest in joy.

Some years before the disciples of the Puritan, ROBINSON, landed on the icy coast of Plymouth, the disciples of ST. FRANCIS had penetrated the forests, even to the waters that empty into Lake Huron; before the May Flower with her precious freight, weighed anchor from Southampton, there was a French settlement at Quebec; before Harvard University was in operation, the disciples of IGNATIUS LOYOLA, aided by the prayers, sympathies and money of French Papists, were establishing educational institutions on the banks of the St. Lawrence. The son of a Marquis gave six thousand gold crowns towards the establishment of a college; a rich and youthful widow had founded a seminary for girls; and the renowned RICHELIEU, with a female relative, assisted to endow a public hospital under the care of Ursuline nuns.

The journals of the first missionaries to the Hurons, were perused with like enthusiasm by the kings, queens, statesmen, merchants, artizans and peasants of Papal Europe. The lovers of romance wept freely over the sufferings of the priests, and the reported conversion of so many to the faith. The enterprising merchant, encouraged the missions that were opening so many new avenues of trade.

Before proceeding to a sketch of the explorers and explorations in Minnesota during the seventeenth century, let us

rapidly glance at the progress of discovery in the countries adjacent. As early as 1634, the Indians had learned to bring their furs to Quebec, and received European manufactures in exchange. In September of that year, two priests, BREBŒUF and DANIEL, determined to accompany a party of Hurons to their forest home, and teach them the doctrines of the Christian religion. They were the first Europeans that erected a house in the neighborhood of Lake Huron.

Seven years after, a bark canoe, containing priests of the same order, passed through the river Ottawa, and coasted along the shores of Lake Huron, to visit, by invitation, the Ojibwas, at the outlet of Lake Superior. After a voyage of seventeen days, they arrived at the Falls of St. Mary, where they found assembled two thousand of that tribe, who now dwell in the north eastern portion of our Territory.

While here, they obtained much information, calculated to inflame the zeal of the Society of Jesus, and their patrons in Europe. Here for the first time, civilized man, learned that the nation of Dakotas, amid whose lodges we reside, was in existence. The Ojibwas informed the missionaries that the Dakotas lived eighteen days' journey farther to the west.

Thus, says BANCROFT, in his eloquent chapter on Jesuit Missions, "did the religious zeal of the French bear the cross to the banks of the St. Mary, and the confines of Lake Superior, and look wistfully toward the home of the Sioux in the valley of the Mississippi, five years before the apostle ELLIOT, had addressed the tribe of Indians that dwelt within six miles of Boston Harbor."

Either accompanying the missionary, devoted to a life of poverty, or in his immediate rear, followed the trader, devoted to a life of gain; so that a chapel was hardly surmounted with a cross, before a trading house stood by its side. In the year 1654, two adventurous young men, connected

with the fur trade, followed a party of Indians in their hunting excursions for two years, and were probably the first white men that ever penetrated the Dakota country.

Upon their return to Quebec, they gave such glowing accounts of the lands they had seen, the lakes they had crossed, the nations they had become acquainted with, among whom were the Sioux or Dakotas, that both trader and ecclesiastic, burned with desire to go up and possess the land. Even the bishop of Quebec, was ready to be the pioneer in planting the symbol of his faith among the newly discovered tribes. But it was at length decided that the aged MESNARD, who had obtained dearly purchased experience among the Indians of Western New York, should carry the religion of Rome to the shores of Lake Superior. With an ardor that every one must admire, he loitered not after his appointment, but leaving the pleasant society of his associates, he pushed onward to the field of labor, to use his own language, trusting "in the Providence which feeds the little birds of the desert, and clothes the wild flowers of the forest," and expecting that his friends would shortly add him "to the memento of deaths."

Hoping against hope, he reached the shores of Superior in safety. After residing on the southern shore of the Lake about eight months, he started on a journey for the Bay of Che-goi-me-gon. But one person accompanied him, and while his companion was making, as it is supposed, what is called the Keweena Portage, MESNARD was lost in the forest. Whether he died from starvation, exposure, or the tomahawk, has never been discovered. There is a tradition that his cassock and prayer book were kept as amulets for many years by the Dakotas.*

The melancholy disappearance of this aged soldier of the

* The Dakotas assert, that they murdered the first white man, who visited them. Was he MESNARD?

church, did not deter CLAUDE ALLOUEZ, also a Jesuit, from visiting the shores of Lake Superior, in the year 1665.

At that early date, there were rumors that there was a large mass of copper on the southern shore, but his search for it was unavailing. Pushing beyond Ontonagon, the adventurous man did not stop until he reached the Island of La Pointe, the ancient residence of the Ojibwas, who were then, as often times now, planning a war party against their enemies, the Dakotas. He, then, must be regarded as the first white man of whom we have authentic account, who first trod the soil on the confines of Minnesota. According to the Ojibway tradition, the first white men at La Pointe, were traders, who had been confined by the ice, and were found in a starving condition, eating their cloth and blankets. Yet, that priests were here at a very early period, is very certain, from the fact that a small silver crucifix of antique workmanship, has been lately ploughed up in that vicinity. At that period, the territory of the Dakotas extended quite to the shores of Superior, and ALLOUEZ in his intercourse with them, was the first to learn of the existence of a great river, which he calls the "Messipi."

During his two years residence in the North West, he founded the Mission of the Holy Spirit, and passed his time in teaching the Ojibwas the "Pater Noster" and "Ave Maria;" in endeavoring to awaken their slumbering consciences by pictures of hell and the judgment day, and in obtaining information from the Sioux or Dakota nation.

His labors were so successful, that he returned to Quebec to solicit assistance, but his heart remained with the Ojibwas, and in two days, he was on his return route, accompanied by a fellow laborer named NICHOLAS.

In 1668, he was cheered by the arrival of two others, named DABLON and MARQUETTE, the latter of whom, was destined to become known to posterity.

MARQUETTE, during his missionary tours in the vicinity of Lake Superior, had heard so much of the "great river Messipi," that he determined to take the first favorable opportunity to discover it.

On the 10th of July, 1673, in company with a French Envoy, and five others, they left the Mission at Green Bay, ascended the Fox River, made a portage, and descended the Wisconsin. After paddling their birch canoes for seven days, without meeting man or beast, they reached its mouth, and floated on the bosom of the "Father of Waters." Fearing nothing, excited by the very danger of the adventure,

"Day after day they glided adown the turbulent river;
Night after night, by their blazing fires, encamped on its borders.
Now through rushing chutes, among green islands where plume-like
Cotton-trees nodded their shadowy crests, they swept with the current,
Then emerged into broad lagoons, where silvery sand-bars
Lay in the stream, and along the rippling waves of their margin,
Shining with snow-white plumes, large flocks of pelicans waded.
They were approaching the region where reigns perpetual summer."

Nor did they cease descending, until they left the Wisconsin eleven hundred miles above them. Returning by the way of the Illinois river to Chicago, they proceeded by Lake Michigan to Green Bay, where they arrived about the last of September. This voyage excited much conversation and speculation, in old as well as new France.

At this time there dwelt in Canada, a native of Rouen, named LA SALLE, who not only possessed an adventurous disposition, but was also a man of foresight, determination and finished education. While a student at a Jesuit College in France, he was distinguished for his proficiency in mathematics.

At the time of MARQUETTE'S return from the Mississippi, he was living at his trading post at the junction of the St. Lawrence with Lake Ontario, where the town of Kingston stands. Around Fort Frontenac, for that was the name of the post, there were gathered a few French families and priests.

The more LA SALLE dwelt upon the discovery of MARQUETTE and JOLIET, the greater his eagerness to complete what had been commenced, and to discover what he believed to exist, a short route to China and Japan from the head waters of the Mississippi. To obtain the patronage of LOUIS XIV, he sailed for France, and in the year 1678, received permission to make discoveries in the western part of New France, to build forts wherever they were necessary, and the exclusive right to the trade in buffalo skins, which were just beginning to be known and valued in Europe.

Among the priests at Frontenac, was a native of Flanders, a Franciscan of the meditative order, styled Recollect. From early life, he evinced a roving disposition, and the stories of the sailors who used to enter the harbors of Calais and Dunkirk, where he had resided, are said to have created a strong desire in him to see the New World.

His name was LOUIS HENNEPIN; vain, boasting, and ambitious, he suffers by comparison with the meek, unostentatious and comparatively truthful MARQUETTE. While LA SALLE was absent, the Franciscan passed his time in Missionary tours among the Iroquois, and is said to have visited the present capital of the State of New York. When LA SALLE returned from France, he despatched a small vessel to Niagara river, laden with materials for building a ship suitable for navigating the lakes. Among the passengers was HENNEPIN, who with eight others, landed and traveled some thirty leagues through the woods, to hold a council with the Senecas, whose good will they obtained.

On the 20th of January, 1679, LA SALLE joined the party, encamped on the shores of the Niagara river, and strained every nerve in making preparations for a great western voyage. In a week, a dock yard was not only selected, but the keel of a ship laid. The builders plied the adze and the hammers vigorously, though in fear that the Indians would

apply the torch to their work and the tomahawk to their scalps. When they began to murmur, Father HENNEPIN began to exhort, and as he says, "allay their fears."

In six months, the vessel was ready for launching. It was named the Griffin, in compliment to Count FRONTENAC, the Governor of Canada, whose armorial bearings were adorned by two griffins. It was defended by a few guns, and ornamented by an eagle and a griffin on its prow.

By means of ropes, the vessel was towed from the Niagara river to Lake Erie, much to the astonishment of the natives. On the 7th of August, 1679, LA SALLE, HENNEPIN, and some thirty others, entered the ship, and spread their sails to the breeze. The waters of Lake Erie bore the vessel most gallantly, and in three days they were in the vicinity of the spot, where now stands the city of Detroit. Passing through the Lake, which they named St. Clair, in honor of one of the saints of the Church of Rome, they entered Lake Huron. Here they encountered one of those terrible storms, which even the experienced sailor of modern days, dreads. All but the pilot, who, according to HENNEPIN, was destitute of religious feeling, began to pray to the Patron Saint, ANTHONY, of Padua. But not a hair of their heads was injured; the waves at last fell to sleep, and upon the 27th of the month, they safely moored in one of the harbors of Mackinaw Island.

Here HENNEPIN and the other ecclesiastics celebrated mass, and LA SALLE, wrapped in a scarlet cloak edged with gold, visited the assembled Indians. This being a desirable point for trade with the tribes, a fort was built. Leaving Mackinaw, they entered Lake Michigan, and anchored at an island at the mouth of Green Bay. In two weeks time the Griffin was freighted with furs to the amount of $12,000 and sent back to Niagara, which point she never reached, and as it was supposed, was wrecked in another storm.

Leaving Green Bay in four birch canoes, LA SALLE and his

followers coasted along the eastern boundary of Wisconsin, and at last pitched their tents in the neighborhood of Milwaukee River. Fatigued and without a supply of food, they were much disheartened; but the Indians in the vicinity proved friendly, and administered to their wants.

After being exposed to many perils by land and by water, they landed on the 1st of November, at the mouth of the river St. Joseph in Michigan. Late in the season, they started from thence for the Illinois river; but before they reached that stream, provisions again grew scarce. In their extremity, Providence assisted; for says HENNEPIN, a stray buffalo was found sticking fast in a marsh, which served for food. After a journey of three hundred miles, they at last reached the Illinois, and descended to an Indian village situated near the present town of Ottawa. Winter being at hand, the inhabitants were on their annual hunt; but the travellers pressed with hunger, could not refrain from helping themselves to some of the corn.

They continued to proceed down the river, until the 1st of January, 1680, when they halted, and had a new year's celebration, consisting of religious services by HENNEPIN and other priests.

The ceremonies being over, they entered Lake Peoria, at the lower end of which, they discovered an encampment of Indians. After the red men had recovered from their astonishment, they invited the strangers to their cabins, and passed the day in feasting.

LA SALLE told them that he had come to impart a knowledge of the true God, and to supply them with fire-arms, in the place of the awkward weapons they had been accustomed to use. The night after he made this speech, a chief of a tribe residing on Fox river, stole into the camp, and calling the chiefs together, told them that he had been informed that the Frenchmen were allied with their old enemies, the Iro-

quois. This false intelligence communicated to the Indians by LA SALLE'S enemies, produced much consternation. The next morning, in the place of cordiality, the travelers found only coldness and suspicion. The commander inquired the cause of the sudden change, and he was then told the whole tale. A man of uncommon tact and address, he soon regained their confidence. He now began to inquire about the Mississippi, and spoke of his plan of building a boat, after the white man's fashion, to sail upon that stream. The principal men of the camp did not fully approve of this plan, and they attempted to dissuade him, by saying "that the banks of the Mississippi were inhabited by a gigantic race of men, who killed all travelers; that it was filled with crocodiles, serpents and monsters as well as falls and rapids, and that there was a dreadful whirlpool at its mouth."

The discernment of LA SALLE convinced him that this was what we vulgarly term a "hoax," and he arose and told the spokesman, that his sayings were stamped with improbability. These stories however, caused six of the company to desert, and others to complain.

As it was now too cold to travel with comfort, the erection of a fort was commenced not far distant from the town of Peoria.

Here, in the interior of the North American Continent, two years before the Quaker PENN, purchased of the Indians, the spot where the city of Philadelphia now stands, might be heard the sound of the saw, the blowing of the forge, the stroke of the sledge, and the ring of the anvil. In less than six weeks, and in the midst of winter, this exploring band had erected a log fort, which they named Crevecœur, and the hull of a vessel 42 feet long and 12 broad, which was to have been employed in navigating the Mississippi. The necessary cordage and rigging being absent, the ship could not be completed.

But LA SALLE was still intent upon discovering a short route to the "wealth of Ormus and of Ind," and therefore ordered Father HENNEPIN to proceed on a voyage to the sources of the Mississippi.

This was not unwelcome intelligence to the forward Franciscan; and on the last day of February, 1680, with one canoe laden with goods, and two companions, PICARD DU GAY and MICHEL AKO, he began his long and dangerous journey.

In seven days he had reached the mouth of the Illinois; but on account of the floating ice, he had to wait some time before he could ascend the "Meschasipi," as he termed the river upon the banks of which we dwell. By the 11th of April, he had paddled as far as the Wisconsin river, in the vicinity of which he met a flotilla of canoes, filled with Issati or Dakota Indians, called Issati or Issanti, as it is supposed, after their ancient residence at Mille Lac. With them he passed through the Lac des Pleurs, shortly after called Pepin, which name it still retains, which he thus describes: "About thirty leagues above Black River, we found the Lake of Tears, which we named so, because the savages who took us, as it will be hereafter related, consulted in this place, what they should do with their prisoners, and those who were for murdering, cried all night upon us, to oblige by their tears, their companions to consent to our death. The lake is formed by the 'Meschasipi,' and may be seven leagues long and five broad."

As the Dakotas were generally very kind in the treatment of their white captives, very little credence can be given to the tale of the Father's captivity.

After nineteen days' travel with the Indians, he discovered a cataract, which he says, "indeed of itself is terrible, and hath something very astonishing." He reported the falls to be 60 feet in height, which is quite moderate for the

man who published those at Niagara to be 600 feet. Near the cataract was a bear-skin upon a pole, a sort of oblation to the spirit in the waters.

After carving the cross and the arms of France on a tree, and calling them after the Patron Saint of the expedition, the eloquent divine, ANTHONY of Padua, he abandoned his canoe and journeyed by land to the residence of the Indians, on a stream, which in honor of the founder of his order, he called St. Francis.† Their manner of welcoming a stranger at that time, seems to have been very peculiar. Says HENNEPIN, "at the entry of the chief's cabin, who had adopted me, one of the barbarians, who seemed to be very old, presented me with a great pipe to smoke, and weeping over me all the while with abundance of tears, rubbed both my arms and my head. This was to show how concerned he was to see me so harassed and fatigued. And indeed, I had often need enough of two men to support me, when I was up, or raise me when I was down. There was a bear's skin before the fire, upon which the youngest boy of the cabin caused me to lie down, and then with the grease of wild-cats, annointed my thighs, legs and soles of my feet."

The first of white men then, who looked upon the Falls of St. Anthony, was not a Jesuit, as STEINMETZ, misled by KIP'S eloquent preface to the "early Jesuit Missions in North America," asserts; but a Franciscan of the Recollect branch.

While HENNEPIN was dwelling upon the banks of the St. Francis, he was agreeably surprised by the arrival of a party of French traders from Lake Superior, under the direction of a SIEUR DE LUTH, and probably among the first who had ever penetrated so far into the interior of the Dakota country. About the last of September, 1680, the whites left the Indian village, and descending the Mississippi as far

† Now called Elk River.

as the Wisconsin, they proceeded by way of that stream, and Green Bay, to Quebec. HENNEPIN did not tarry long in that city; but went to France, and in 1683, published a book of travels under the title of "A Description of Louisiana," as all of the Valley of the Mississippi was then called.

Had the restless Franciscan remained contented with the reputation acquired by the discovery of the Falls of St. Anthony, posterity would have viewed his exaggerations and mis-statements with a kindly eye, and remembered his name with pleasure.

But in an evil hour, he was tempted to claim the honor of not only discovering the source, but the mouth of the Mississippi; and to sustain the claim, he contradicted what he previously asserted, and committed one of the meanest plagiarisms on record. After the renowned LA SALLE had met an untimely end, by the hand of a conspirator, LE CLERCQ published the letters of Father ZENOBE and ANASTASE, giving a description of the scenery and productions of the Lower Mississippi. HENNEPIN, with the aid of these missionary letters, and a fertile imagination, prepared a book entitled "New Discovery of a vast country situated in America, between New Mexico and the Frozen Ocean." In this he is daring enough to state, that he paddled a canoe with the aid of two men, from the Illinois to the Gulf of Mexico and back, more than 2500 miles, in forty-nine days.

Anticipating the query from some inquisitive Frenchman, "why did you not say something about the discovery of the mouth of the Mississippi, in your first work, published more than ten years since?" he framed a most awkward and insufficient apology. After stating that LA SALLE was envious and jealous of him, he remarks that he was also unfriendly, because during his first voyage to France, when a gay company of young women commenced dancing upon the deck

of the ship, he had reprimanded them for their gaiety; LA SALLE who was a fellow passenger, "interposed, and said there was no harm in dancing, and that the Franciscan had overstepped the bounds of his authority. Warm words ensued, and we are called upon to believe that by this frivolous incident, a root of bitterness was planted in his bosom which was never eradicated."

None of his excuses sustained HENNEPIN'S reputation; and shortly after, we find him in his old age, leaving France. Crossing the Channel, he published in London, another edition of his real and fictitious discoveries in the Valley of the Mississippi, and staunch Romanist as he professed to be, entered into the pay of England's Protestant King, WILLIAM the III, who was anxious to be the rival of France in colonizing the banks of the Mississippi, and willing "to leap over twenty stumbling blocks rather than not effect it."

As a town in the State of Illinois has already taken the name of HENNEPIN, which would have been so appropriate for our neighboring and beautiful village of St. Anthony, we take leave of the discoverer of those picturesque falls, which will always render that town equally attractive to the eye of the poet and capitalist, by suggesting, that the island which divides the "laughing waters," * be called HENNEPIN, who though as BANCROFT says, "a boastful liar," † was nevertheless a "daring discoverer."

Eight years after HENNEPIN announced the discovery of the Falls of St. Anthony to his friends in Canada, another exploration of the Valley of the Upper Mississippi, was undertaken by Baron LAHONTAN. About the last of September, 1688, with a large party of French and Indians, he departed with his heavily laden canoes from the Fort at Mackinaw, and proceeded by the usual and natural route by Green Bay,

* The Dakota Indians call the Falls of St. Anthony, "Rara" from Irara, to laugh.

† The French call him "the great liar."

Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, to the Mississippi, upon whose waters he floated on the 23d of October. Ascending this stream, he says, that on the 3d of November, he entered into a river that was almost without a current, and at its mouth filled with rushes. He remarks, moreover, that he ascended it for more than 500 miles. Upon its banks, dwelt three nations; the Eokoros, Essannapes and the Gnacsitares On account of its great length, having been employed sixty days in its ascent, he named it Riviere Longue. As there is no stream in existence that answers to the description, many have been inclined to look upon the account of Baron LAHONTAN, in the same light as they view the stories of Baron MUNCHAUSEN. Others more credulous, have credited him with the discovery of the Minnesota or Saint Pierre River. NICOLLET supposes that the Riviere Longue of LAHONTAN was Cannon River, which enters the Mississippi near the head of Lake Pepin, and that this stream was then an outlet of the Minnesota. A reference to the map, shows that there is but a short distance between the sources of Cannon River, and the Le Sueur and other tributaries of the Mankato or Blue Earth Rivers.

BRADFORD in his "Notes on the North West," agrees with NICOLLET. He remarks "there is very clear evidence, from geological indications that the whole Upper Mississippi was at one time submerged; and it is highly probable, that in the gradual subsidence of the waters which may not have taken place in 1690 or 1700, to the extent it has now attained, a great lake may have covered all that area.

The supposition that he passed through Cannon River, is not improbable. The sources of Cannon River are within four or five miles of an eastern branch of Blue Earth River, and the intervening ground is a perfect level. The communication may at the time of the voyage, have been complete, or been made so, by a freshet, and he would thus have

passed through the Blue Earth into St. Peter's River." *

KEATING supposed that the Hoka or Root River, was the one referred to by LAHONTAN, and remarks, "it is impossible to read the Baron LAHONTAN'S account of this river, without being convinced that the greater part, if not the whole of it, is a deception."

When doctors disagree, it would be vain for us to attempt to decide.

LAHONTAN having navigated the streams in this region, (perhaps the St. Peter's River,) descended the Mississippi as far as the junction of the Ohio.

Upon his return, he stopped at Fort Crevecœur, on the Illinois, the post from which HENNEPIN had departed in 1680, on his exploring tour to the sources of the Mississippi.

Though LA SALLE had been cruelly murdered by a member of his exploring party, his friend, Count FRONTENAC, the Governor of Canada, continued to prosecute with vigor, discoveries, and the establishment of commercial relations with the Indian tribes in the Mississippi valley.

In 1695, he deputed a Monsieur LE SUEUR, to build a fort on an island in the Mississippi, in order that peaceful relations might be maintained with the Ojibwas and Dakotas. Returning to Montreal, a chief from each of these then, as now warlike tribes, accompanied him. While in that city, the Dakota chief, the first that had ever been there,

*"Having procured a copy of LAHONTAN'S book, in which there is a roughly made map of his Long River, I was struck with the resemblance of its course as laid down, with that of Cannon River, which I had previously sketched in my own field book. I soon convinced myself that the principal statements of the Baron in reference to the country, and the few details he gives of the physical character of the river, coincide remarkably with what I had laid down, as belonging to Cannon River.

Thus the lakes and swamps corresponded; traces of Indian villages mentioned by him, might be found in the growth of a wild grass that propagates itself around all old Indian settlements. His account of the mouth of the river is particularly accurate. "We entered the mouth of this Long River, which is a sort of large lake filled with cane breaks, in the midst of which we discovered a narrow channel, which we followed up."——[Nicollet's Report.

with much ceremony, presented to the Governor, as many arrows as his nation had villages, and entreated that his tribe might enjoy the same privileges of trade as other Indian nations.

LE SUEUR brought back the news, that there were mines of lead and copper in the Sioux country, and hastened to France, to lay the information before LOUIS the XIV.

Entirely successful in his application for a grant to work the mines, he left Europe in 1697; but just as he came in sight of Newfoundland, the ship in which he was sailing was captured by the British, and the passengers carried as captives to Portsmouth. The next year he was released, and returned to Paris. Receiving a fresh patent, he started anew to explore the mines, believed to be not many miles distant from the spot on which we dwell. After he arrived in Canada, it was impossible for him to execute his plans, and he returned a third time to the mother country.

The commencement of the year 1699, found a distinguished Canadian in the naval service of the French Government. His name was IBERVILLE; and with several ships and a company of colonists, he went forth to establish a settlement on the Mississippi. They built a fort 80 miles North East of New Orleans, and here in 1700, we find LE SUEUR, who appears to have possessed indomitable perseverance.

By the order of IBERVILLE, LE SUEUR, with a company of 20 men, proceeded to explore the mines in the Dakota country, of which he had given an account five years before. On the 1st of September, 1700, he had reached the mouth of the Wisconsin. Fourteen days after this, he was at the entrance of the Chippewa, on a branch of which, he had said he had discovered a lump of copper weighing 60 pounds. Passing through Lac des Pleurs, which at that early date had begun to be called Lake Pepin, he reached, on the 16th

of September, the mouth of a river, where a Monsieur ST. CROIX was drowned, and in memory of whom, it received the name it now bears. Three days after this, he entered the Minnesota, or St. Peter's River, which was not mentioned by HENNEPIN, the sight of it as he ascended the stream, being obscured perhaps, by the island which is at its mouth.

CARVER informs us, that when he visited this country in 1766, there were on the eastern side of Lake Pepin, the ruins of a trading post, that had been, in early days, under the superintendence of a captain ST. PIERRE, and after him, probably did LE SUEUR call the Minnesota River.*

On the 1st of October, LE SUEUR had ascended the Minnesota to the mouth of the Mankato or Blue Earth River, about 150 miles above Fort Snelling. He there erected a trading post or fort, which did not give satisfaction to the Kapoja and other bands of Dakotas, in our vicinity. They claimed that the fort should have been on their lands, at the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi, where Mendota, the post of the Fur Company is now situated; because they were the first with whom the French had traded and furnished with fire-arms. The fort was called L'Huillier, after a scientific Parisian, and is said to be marked upon a map published at Amsterdam, in 1720.

Having completed the necessary buildings, on the 26th of October, with three canoes, he proceeded to the locality where the Blue Earth was found. After passing the winter in digging, he returned with several thousand pounds of this bluish green earth, to the mouth of the Mississippi, from whence 4,000 pounds were transported to France, where it appears to have been of the same value as the sand of the Virginia colonists in England, a century previous.

* Since the above was written, we find the following statement in Nicollet's Report. "As for my part, I have no hesitation in assigning its origin to a Canadian, by the name of St. Pierre."

In the vicinity of the Blue Earth, were said to be mines of copper; but geologists and others, who have lately explored the country, while they describe the blue pigment used by the Indians, say not a word about any metallic deposits on the Blue Earth River or its tributaries.*

With LE SUEUR, the French explorations of Minnesota, appear to have ceased. It is stated that the white residents were obliged to leave the country in 1720, on account of the hostility of the Dakotas. Though this may have contributed to their departure, yet no doubt many traders were impoverished by the bursting of the celebrated Mississippi Company, projected by the infamous swindler, JOHN LAW. The professed object of this association, was the aggrandizement and cultivation of the colonies of France in North America; and the French Government enhanced its delusive credit, by assigning to it the whole Territory of Louisiana, of which this country was a district.

Thus, gentlemen of the Minnesota Historical Society, with such "materiel" as there was in my possession, I have attempted a sketch of the explorers of Minnesota during the 17th century. It is hoped that it is a mere introductory to other lectures from gentlemen who by a longer residence in the Territory, and careful observation, are not only able to please and instruct your Society, but to make contributions, that will be of value to the generations that will follow in our footsteps.

[* At a recent meeting of the Society, C. MCNAMARA, Esq., a Civil Engineer of this State, presented some specimens of a mineral or metallic substance, apparently a sort of iron or copper ore, which he took from a large deposit of the same in the bluffs of the Le Sueur river, near its confluence with the Blue Earth. In presenting the specimen, Mr. MCNAMARA stated that it seemed to him probable that this mineral deposit might have been the bed of "ore" which Le Sueur supposed to have been copper, as it scarcely seemed probable that LE SUEUR would mistake common blue *clay* or earth, for copper ore. PENICAUD, in his Relation, (Minn. Histor. Coll., Vol. III, P. 8,) speaks of the deposit as extending many miles on the river. Mr. MCNAMARA says the deposit examined by him, is also found several miles along the bluffs. No assay of the specimens has been made, and its exact value is not, therefore determined.—W.]

You have been organized at a most favorable period. On the bluff where we are assembled, there are temples of religion and education, the indubitable marks of the Anglo-Saxon tread; yet around us, the skin-lodges of the Dakotas are still visible.

Our nearest village is the residence of the band that was here a century ago. * Their manners, customs and hunting grounds are much the same. The scalp-dance is yet enacted within our hearing, and not a year rolls by, but the soil of Minnesota is reddened with Ojibwa and Dakota blood.

Legends, histories of their wars, customs, and superstitions; vocabularies of the tribes dwelling within our bounds, can be now easily collected, which a few years hence will be almost inaccessible.

Prosecute then the objects for which the Society was incorporated, with vigor. "Write your history as you go along," and you will confer a favor upon the future inhabitants of Minnesota, for which they will be ever grateful.

*Three or four miles below St. Paul, is the village of the Kaposia band of Dakotas, The whites call it Little Crow, the French having named a chief of the band, Chatonwahtoeamany, Petit Corbeau. In 1824, this chief visited Washington, and claimed to be the head chief of the whole Dakota nation. He has been dead for some years. In McKENNEY's and HALL's valuable History of the Indian Tribes of North America, there is the following anecdote:

Soon after peace was declared between the United States and Great Britain, in 1815, the Sioux were invited by the commanding officer at Drummond's Island, to visit that post. On their arrival, the Indians were informed by the officer, that he had sent for them to thank them in the name of his Majesty, for the aid they had rendered the British during the war, and for the bravery they had displayed on several occasions, as well as to communicate the intelligence of the peace which had been declared between the great belligerent parties. He concluded by pointing to a large pile of goods, that lay heaped upon the floor, which he told them were intended as presents for themselves. The LITTLE CROW replied, that his people had been prevailed upon by the British to make war upon a people whom they scarcely knew, and who had never done them any harm.

"Now" continued he, "after we have fought for you, endured many hardships, lost some of our people, and awakened the vengeance of a powerful nation, our neighbors, you make a peace for yourselves, and leave us to get such terms as we can. You no longer need our services, and offer these goods as a compensation for having deserted us. But no—we will not take them; we hold them and yourselves in equal contempt." So saying, he spurned the articles of merchandize with his foot, and walked away. This conduct was the more remarkable, from its inconsistency with the gravity and decorum with which the chiefs usually deport themselves on public occasions.

DESCRIPTION OF MINNESOTA.*

BY HON. H. H. SIBLEY.

WASHINGTON, FEB. 15, 1850.

HON. HENRY S. FOOTE, U. S. SENATE:

SIR:—You did me the honor, a few days since, to request that I would furnish you some information relative to the climate, soil, and present condition of Minnesota Territory. In reply, I proceed to make the following statement of facts, which must necessarily be brief, but I trust will be, to some extent at least, satisfactory.

That part of Minnesota which lies east of the Mississippi River constituted a portion of Wisconsin Territory, before the admission into the Union of the State of that name, with curtailed boundaries. The St. Croix, and a line drawn from the main branch of that stream to the mouth of the St. Louis River, on Lake Superior, now divide Wisconsin from Minnesota. On the west of the Mississippi, the parallel of 42 deg. 30 min., is the line of division between the State of Iowa and Minnesota, west to the Missouri. All the country up the latter stream to its junction with the Whitewater, and along that river to the British possessions, thence eastwardly following the line of 49 deg. to its intersection of the extreme northwest boundary of Wisconsin, in Lake Superior, appertains to Minnesota Territory. The area embraced within these limits, contains between 140,000 and 150,000 square miles; equal in extent to New York, Virginia and Pennsylvania combined.

* First printed in the Washington *Union*. This was the first authentic information concerning Minnesota, published outside of the Territory. W.]

This immense region is bountifully watered by the Mississippi, St. Peter's and Missouri Rivers, and the Red River of the North, and their numerous tributary streams, which traverse it in every part. There are also innumerable bodies of fresh water, which abound in fish of various kinds —the white fish especially, being found in great numbers in the more northern and larger lakes. The general character of Minnesota is that of high, rolling prairie; but the streams and lakes are bordered with heavy bodies of timber, which contain every species of wood known along the Mississippi below, except beech and sycamore. At a point about eighty miles above the Falls of St. Anthony, west of the Mississippi, commences a large and remarkable forest, which extends to the south, nearly at a right angle across the Minnesota or St. Peter's River. This vast body of woodland is more than one hundred and twenty miles in length, and from fifteen to forty in breadth. Many beautiful lakes of limpid waters are found within its limits, which are the resort of innumerable wild fowl—including swan, geese, and ducks. The dense thickets along its borders afford places of concealment for the deer, which are killed in great numbers by the Indians. The numerous groves of hard maple, afford to the latter, at the proper season, the means of making sugar, while the large cotton-woods and butter-nuts, are converted into canoes by them for the transportation of themselves and their families along the water-courses and lakes. At the approach of winter, the bands of the Sioux, save those who rely exclusively upon the buffalo for subsistance, seek the deepest recesses of the forest, to hunt the bear, the deer, and smaller fur-bearing animals, among which may be enumerated the raccoon, the fisher and the martin. In this beautiful country, are to be found all the requisites to sustain a dense population. The soil is of great fertility, and unknown depth; covered as it is with the mould of a thous-

and years. The Indian is here in his forest home, hitherto secure from the intrusion of the pale faces; but the advancing tide of civilization warns him that ere long he must yield up his title to this fair domain, and seek another and a strange dwelling place. It is a melancholy reflection, that the large and warlike tribes of Sioux and Chippewas, who now own full nine-tenths of the soil of Minnesota, must soon be subjected to the operation of the same causes that have swept their Eastern brethren from the earth, unless an entirely different line of policy is pursued by the Government towards them. If they were brought under the influence and restraint of our benign laws, and some hope extended to them, that education and a course of moral training would, at some period hereafter, entitle them to be placed upon an equality, socially and politically, with the whites, much good would be the result.

The soil of Minnesota is admirably adapted to the cultivation of all the cereal grains. Wheat, oats, and barley, are already raised in considerable quantities, and corn grows to great perfection. Wheat and barley afford a sure crop, even at the British Red River colony, which is in latitude 50.

What will be the result in the cultivation of fruit trees in our Territory, has never been tested; but there is no reason to doubt that the experiment will be successful, with all those species which are produced in the same parallel of latitude elsewhere. Minnesota is destined to be a great agricultural region, and her prairies are well calculated for the raising of stock. There is also such an extent of water power throughout its broad surface, that no reason can be conceived why manufactures should not flourish also. The reports of those scientific men who have explored the country, justify us in the belief that our Territory is rich in copper ores, and more particularly in galena or lead. Whether coal exists is a problem yet to be solved. If it

shall be found in any considerable quantities, the discovery will be of more real advantage to Minnesota than mines of silver or gold.

On the upper portions of the Mississippi and St. Croix valleys, lies the great region of pine, that will continue to prove a source of wealth to the Territory and future State for a century to come. The manufacture of pine lumber already occupies a very large part of the industrial labor of the people. The quantity produced during the last year must have exceeded eight millions of feet, although the amount is but conjectural, as I have no reliable data upon which to base a calculation. Much of this is needed for home consumption, caused by the rapid increase of population, but the larger portion is rafted to St. Louis, where it meets with a ready sale. This branch of business is in the hands of hardy, enterprising, and respectable men, who, enduring every species of privation in their wild homes, are too often fated to encounter heavy losses from the uncontrollable floods that set at defiance, equally, the strength and skill of man.

The climate of Minnesota is not subject to sudden change, especially in winter. Although in some years, the snow falls to a considerable depth, as a general rule, we have far less than is the case either in New England or the northern part of the State of New York. The comparative absence of moisture in our country is attributable doubtless to the fact that no very large bodies of water are to be found, although, as I have before stated, small lakes abound. During the coldest weather in winter, the air is perfectly still; consequently the temperature is much more tolerable, and even pleasant, than could be supposed by those who reside in the same latitude on the stormy Atlantic coast.

The navigation of the Mississippi is not to be relied on after the first week in November; and steamboats arrive in

the spring about the 10th or 12th of April; so that the river may be considered as closed about five months in the year. I have known steamers to reach St. Paul as late as the 18th or 20th of November, and get back safely to Galena, and to return by the 1st of April; but this is not usually the case.

St. Paul is the present capital of the Territory. It is situated on the east bank of the Mississippi, about six miles below Fort Snelling, and eight miles by land from the Falls of St. Anthony. It is now a town of twelve or thirteen hundred inhabitants, and is rapidly augmenting in population. Stillwater is a thriving village, on Lake St. Croix, about eighteen miles west from St. Paul by land, and twenty-five from the Mississippi. It is second only to St. Paul in size, and is increasing steadily in wealth and population. There is also quite a village at the Falls of St. Anthony, which is one of the most lovely spots in the upper country, and also at Marine Mills, on the St. Croix river, Sauk Rapids, on the Mississippi, seventy-five miles above the Falls, and at Mendota, at the mouth of the St. Peter's river. Point Douglas is at the junction between the Mississippi and St. Croix rivers. It is a charming place, and is destined to be the site of a town of commercial importance.

Pembina, is the name of a settlement on our side of the line of the British possessions, and contains upwards of a thousand souls, principally persons of mixed Indian and White blood. These people are active and enterprising, hardy and intrepid, excellent horsemen, and well skilled in the use of fire-arms. They subsist by agriculture and the chase of the buffalo. They desire to be recognized as citizens of the United States, as do some thousands of their kindred, who now reside at Selkirk's colony, in the British Territory, but who are anxious to emancipate themselves from the iron rule of the Hudson Bay Company. These

people are only waiting some action on the part of the Government of the United States, to join their brethren at Pembina. They would form an invaluable defence to that exposed frontier in case of difficulties hereafter, either with the British government, (to which they are much disaffected,) or with the Indian tribes.

I would remark, in conclusion, that the people of our Territory are distinguished for intelligence and high-toned morality. For the twelve months or more, prior to the establishment by Congress of a government for Minnesota, although, in the anomalous position in which it was left by the admission of Wisconsin into the Union as a State, it was uncertain to what extent, if any, laws could be enforced, not a single crime of any magnitude was committed. The emigration to Minnesota is composed of men who go there with the well-founded assurance, that in a land where Nature has lavished her choicest gifts—where sickness has no dwelling place—where the dreaded cholera has not claimed a single victim—their toil will be amply rewarded, while their persons and property are fully protected by the broad shield of law. The sun shines not upon a fairer region, one more desirable as a home for the mechanic, the farmer, and the laborer, or where their industry will be more surely requited, than Minnesota Territory.

I have thus glanced, in a cursory and imperfect manner, at the state of things in our country. Much more might be written on the subject; but enough has been stated to enable you to form a general idea of a Territory which is destined to be admitted into the Union as a State in the course of a very few years, and to eclipse some of her proudest sisters.

I am, dear sir, yours, very respectfully,

H. H. SIBLEY.

OUR FIELD OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

[ADDRESS OF GOV. ALEX. RAMSEY, PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY, BEFORE ITS ANNUAL MEETING, JAN. 13, 1851.]

GENTLEMEN: On assuming the chair for the first time since I have been honored with the Presidency of this Society, I seize the opportunity—the earliest that has offered, to express my thanks for the kind preference which has thus been manifested towards me.

It may seem a strange thing, even to some among our own citizens, and still stranger to people, elsewhere, that a *Historical Society* should have been formed in this Territory, less than a year after its organization, when its history was apparently but a few months old, when the wilderness was as it is yet, around us, when the smoke of Indian lodges still intercepted our view of the horizon, when our very name was so new, that men disputed as to its orthography, and formed parties in contesting its literal meaning.

A *Historical* Society in a land of yesterday! Such an announcement would indeed naturally excite at the first glance, incredulity and wonder in the general mind. Well might it be exclaimed, "the country which has *no past*, can have no history;" with force could it be asked, "*where* are your *records?*" and if we even had them, it would not be surprising if it were still demanded, "what those records could possibly record?—what negotiations?—what legislation?—what progress in art or intellect could they possibly

exhibit?" "Canst thou gather figs from thorns, or grapes from thistles?"

True, pertinent as such queries might seem, yet nevertheless they would be dictated by error—they would be founded in great misapprehension; for Minnesota has a history, and that not altogether an unwritten one, which can unravel many a page of deep, engrossing interest; which is rich in tales of daring enterprise, of faithful endurances, of high hopes; which is marked by the early travellers' foot-prints, and by the ancient explorer's pencil; which is glowing with the myths and traditions of our aboriginal races, sprinkled over with their battle fields, with the sites of their ancient villages, and with the *wah-kaun* stones of their teeming mythology.

In Europe, nigh two hundred years ago, as in America at this day, Minnesota—I mean that region which is around and about us—was a land towards which many an eye was turned, and in regard to which fact and fancy wove a wondrous tale of interest and romance. In consequence of this, from the time when Father PIERRE MENARD, the devoted Jesuit Missionary, was lost in the forest in 1658 while crossing *Kee-wee-nah* Peninsula, and his sad fate conjectured only from his cassock and breviary, long afterwards found preserved as "Medicine" charms amongst the wild Dakotas of our territory, down to the time when SCHOOLCRAFT in 1832 traced our giant Mississippi—a giant more wonderful than the hundred-armed BRIAREUS—to its origin in the gushing fountains of Itasca Lake, Minnesota has continued a favorite field of research, the bourn of many a traveler, and the theme of many a traveler's story.

Here HENNEPIN in 1688, was first to break the silence of these northern wilds with a white man's voice, in giving to the foaming waters of St. Anthony Falls, their baptismal name in honor of his patron Saint. Here was the scene of

his captivity among the M' day-wah-kaun-twan Dakotas, and here he experienced the compassion and protection of WAH-ZEE-KOO-TAY, the great Nahdawessy Chief.

Here too, not very long afterwards, Baron LA HONTAN, journeyed; and in this territory that romance of geography, his *La Longue Riviere*, (apparently the St. Peters joined to the Missouri) had its location and due western course—the creature of LA HONTAN'S imagination, or rather of truth and fable curiously interwoven and intermingled.

More reliable than either, the gallant LE SUEUR, a brave, enterprising and truthful spirit, in 1700 explored the SKY COLORED WATER of the St. Peter's to its Blue Earth tributary, and in the vicinity of his log fort L'Huillier, on the banks of the *Mahnkahto*, first broke the virgin soil of our Territory with the spade and pick-axe, in delving for copper ore, tons of which, or a green earth supposed to be the ore of that metal, he had conveyed to his native France. He it was, also, who appears to have been the first white man or trader, that supplied the "Scioux" and "Aiavvis" (Ioways) with fire arms and other products of civilized labor; and to his truthful and generally accurate Journal, (but recently brought to our knowledge by the indefatigable researches of our esteemed and learned fellow-member, the Rev. Mr. NEILL,) we are likewise indebted for the best statistics we possess of the early history of the Dakota race, which then, fully a century and a half ago, as now, occupied the greater portion of our territory.

Following LE SUEUR, after a considerable interval, came Captain JONATHAN CARVER in 1766, and however extravagant we may regard some of his statements, and however discreditable we may deem his efforts to engross millions of acres, including nearly all the inhabited portion of Minnesota, and the very land upon which our town stands, by a pretended deed of gift from the Indians, still we must concede him to have been an adventurer of no mean

courage and enterprise, and his narrative a valuable link in the chain of our early annals.

Still later, and within the present century, CASS and SCHOOLCRAFT, NICOLLET and FREMONT, LONG and KEATING, have visited and explored our land; and PIKE, too, the heroic ZEBULON PIKE, who in 1802, during the "Expedition to the Upper Mississippi," of which he has presented so admirable a narrative, gave promise of that fortitude, courage and determination, which marked him throughout a glorious career, until his mangled body surrendered up his noble spirit, happy in the triumph of his country's flag, on the plains of Canada.

These are our records—these in part, our historiographers. Their works form stepping stones, across at least that portion of the river of time, which in this region, for about two hundred years, has rolled its tide occasionally within view of the white race. The gaps between, it is not unfitly our duty and the object of this Society to lessen and to close up.

The materials for this purpose are not scarce, though somewhat difficult to embody in a tangible or reliable form. Not a foot of ground that we tread, but has been trod by nations before us. Wild tribes of men have marched their armies over the site of our towns and fields—fierce battles have been fought where ere long, churches may rear their spires — our ploughshares may turn furrows amidst the graves of buried races, and our children play perhaps, where generations of children have played centuries before them. Dakota and Ojibway, Shiann and Ausinabwaun, Winnebago, Ioway, Ozaukie and Musquakie, each, in turn or together, dwelt in the land, hunted or warred through it, migrated to and from it. When the first Jesuit Missionary, one hundred and ninety years ago, visited Lake Superior, he found the Chippewas and Sioux engaged in that war, which has continued with but little intermission nearly to the present time.

How long before—for how many centuries previous, this contest was waged, we know not—the records are dim, the traditions vague and uncertain. But we do know, that from the St. Croix to the Mille Lacs, the ancient home of the M'day-wah-kauntwaun Sioux, whose rich maple bottoms are a golgotha of hostile bones, through all the midland hunting grounds to Lake Superior, and northwest by wild rice shallows to the fertile lands of Red Lake, (whose waters have so often drank blood from battles on its shores as to have gained the ensanguined cognomen which we mildly translate "Red,") we can trace the terrible results of this warfare of the Algonquin and Dakota races,—a warfare which in its results completed that general disruption of all the old geographical relations of the various tribes of Minnesota, which the Dakotas, perhaps, were the first to derange, when they located on the Upper Mississippi.

The incidents of this war—the battles, where fought—the victories, where and by whom won—the councils held and alliances formed—the advances, the retreats, and the final conquests—are among the inquiries which this Society will consider not unworthy of instituting. By comparison of the records—by ascertaining corroborating traditions—we can likewise endeavor to fix the period when the fire-arms and the iron tomahawk, which their fur trade with the French early placed in the hands of the Chippewas, proved too powerful for the flint-headed arrows and wooden war-clubs of the ancient Sioux; and when, in consequence, the M'day-wah-kauntwauns moved down from their villages on Mille Lacs, and the Teetwaun, Yaunktwaun, and Seeseetwaun Council Fires, struck their tents, abandoned their homes upon the Upper Mississippi, and invaded the western buffalo plains where they now reside, sweeping before them the Shians and other tribes who were then in possession of them.

A subject for our investigation scarcely less interesting, is the history of that revolted branch of the Dakota family proper, who in their own language are called the *Hoh-hays*, but who are known to us only by their Chippewa name of Assin-abwauns, or Stone Sioux, from their former residence among the rocky ledges among the Lake of the Woods, named by the Jesuits in their maps more than a century and a half ago, Lake of the Assineboins. The causes which led to, and the period at which occurred, the disruption of the brotherhood, which extinguished one of the grand Council Fires of the Dakota race, and allied its elements with the Algonquin enemy against the parent tribe—whether it originated, as has been said, in a second HELEN and a second PARIS, like the guilty pair whose guilty flight lighted the torch of discord among the Pelasgian tribes of Greece, and led to the destruction of Troy—or whether other reasons operated to produce the fratricidal contest—it might be well to determine,—as well as the time at which they too migrated westward, but in a more northern line, towards the White Earth and Yellow Stone tributaries of the Missouri.

Nor would it be foreign to the object of this association, to question into the degree of credit to be attached to the M'day-wah-kauntwaun tradition, which assigns to the Ioways, the former possession of the St. Peters river country, to its mouth, where they were found by the Dakotas and driven southwest; and to what extent this tradition is confirmed by the probable fact, that in 1700, when LE SUEUR visited the Mahnkahtoh, the Ioways yet held the lands in this Territory about the head waters of the Des Moines, from which, subsequently to his time, we know they must have been further driven by the Sioux, low down on that river; and whether, also, this last retrogression was not immediately occasioned

by that western invasion of the Dakotas of the Upper Mississippi, which has already been alluded to.

Another inquiry which suggests itself, pregnant with equal interest, is as to the probability, or otherwise, that this expulsion of the Ioways from the St. Peters, caused the separation off from them into distinct bands or tribes, of the Otoes, Omahas, and Winnebagoes, who are unquestionably of the same origin with the Ioways, and that too not very remotely —if, as I understand, they all speak one language, with slight differences of pronunciation, the result of isolation, but which differences do not prevent their readily comprehending each other—and in this connection, likewise, we may with propriety discuss the probability of the conjecture that the Winnebagoes, at the separation, were but a band of a few families of Ioways, who, escaping from the Dakota invasion, eastward instead of southwest, settled at the head of Green Bay, where, near two hundred years since, their village—still a small one—was found by MARQUETTE, who designates in his map the bay, as the *Baye des Puans* and the village as that of the *Puans*.

Here, surrounded by Algonquin tribes, the hereditary enemies of their enemy, they were safe from molestation by the Upper Dakotas; and in the progress of time, the Hohtchungh-grahs, (as they call themselves,) growing strong with continued peace, and increasing gradually in numbers, spread themselves without opposition, over a considerable extent of country to the southward, presenting finally to the eyes of men of science, that anomaly which has puzzled even the historian BANCROFT to account for—an outlier of the great Pawnee Dakota group of tribes, situated far towards the east, and entirely amongst the Algonquin family of tribes, with whose cognate languages, their's has not the slightest affinity.

Dwelling thus upon the origin of tribes, it may not be out

of place to refer to the prevalent opinion among men who have investigated the subject, that the Chippewas who are spread over the northern portion of this Territory and Wisconsin, are emigrants from the East since the discovery of America; and that the Sioux who in ancient times occupied the exact position that the former do now, first knew these indomitable enemies as did the earliest white men who visited them, as dwellers at the Falls of St. Mary of Lake Superior. As *Hrah-hrah-twauns*, or people of the Falls, is the Dakota proper name for them, just as *Saulteurs*, having the same signification, is that bestowed upon them by the French, the opinion that they came from the East or North, crossing from the Canada side by the Falls, is not without plausibility to sustain it.

Gentlemen: I have thrown out these hints, embodying speculations and theories to be sure, but speculations nevertheless that are not uninteresting, which may stimulate to research, and I hope eliminate some facts from the chaotic oblivion in which our aboriginal history is covered up. But while attending to these, I would not that we should forget the more tangible objects for which we are associated. A library that shall embrace works upon American history, in all its branches; that shall gather upon its shelves, the narratives of early and later travellers to this and other portions of the great West; that shall be rich in archæology and ethnology; that in books upon the science of languages, and in vocabularies of our aboriginal dialects, shall present an inviting field for the student in comparative philology—such a library we should endeavor to collect and preserve. Nor must we rest content with availing ourselves of the labor of others. There is much for each of us individually to do. A great deal that is worth preserving is yet unwritten. While the Indians are within our reach, we should hasten to record their traditions, to describe their manners and customs, their

religious rites, their domestic observances, their peculiarities in peace and war; we should seize the opportunity as well to sketch some of the beautiful, and often most elaborately constructed legends, which like that concerning the huge man-fish which spanned the mouth of the St. Croix and dammed its waters, or that of *Mannebosho*, the Thunderer of Lake Superior, invest with a spiritual interest nearly every lake and river, and prominent landmark of the country.

In tracing the origin of the Indian races around us, we should not overlook the necessity of preserving their languages, as most important guides in this interesting, though perhaps unavailing pursuit. It must be evident to all, that they are destined to pass away with the tribes who speak them, unless by vocabularies we promptly arrest their extinction. The Dakota language proper—thanks to the arduous labors of the Messrs. POND, RIGGS, and WILLIAMSON, the devoted missionaries among them, is in no danger of being lost!—an elaborate dictionary of fifteen thousand words and a grammar, attest the extent of their labors, and are evidences that any work by members of this association in that direction would be superfluous. But there are other tribes whose dialects will continue to remain, in a great measure, unwritten ones, if some among us do not voluntarily assume the task of lexicographers, as I trust some will.

While thus endeavoring to secure the fleeting memorials of the *red* nations who have played their parts on this division of the world's great stage, it should not escape our recollection, that the white pioneers of the North-West, who for many a year have toiled and struggled with the difficulties of the wilderness,—men of intelligence and energy and fortitude —have likewise tales to tell which are not unimportant links in our annals. We cordially invite these to contribute their quota to our local history, and shall be equally obliged to them or to others for contributions to our museum, in which

we design collecting samples of the domestic manufactures, utensils, arms, dress and relics, peculiar to the old inhabitants of the land.

In conclusion, permit me to say to this audience, while thanking them for their attention, that institutions like ours, elevate the character of our young Territory in the eyes of friends abroad, and in the estimation of men of character and science, more than would the golden sands of California, if we possessed them. Let us not forfeit their good opinion by either becoming discouraged in the path we have marked out, or neglecting to do all in our power to *work* out the plan under which we are associated.

Each member should consider it his duty to contribute something to the common stock, and not rest content with permitting or asking a few only to sustain the institution by their labors. History is said to be philosophy teaching by example; and if this be so, historical societies may be characterized as the retorts in which the elements of that philosophy are collected and combined. We should be careful then, not to allow our retort to explode from want of attention, nor to collapse for want of aliment, lest our future should derive no instruction from philosophical deductions on the events of our not uninteresting, though somewhat mythical and traditional past.

ORGANIZATION OF MINNESOTA TERRITORY.

[FROM THE "ANNALS" OF 1851.]

Wisconsin was admitted into the Union on the 29th day of May, 1848; and the first public meeting in Minnesota Territory, was held at Stillwater, on the 5th day of August, 1848, to consider whether the laws of the Territory of Wisconsin were in force beyond the limits of that State. JONATHAN E. MCKUSICK presided at this meeting, and WILLIAM HOLCOMBE acted as the Secretary. M. S. WILKINSON, Dr. CARLI, DAVID LAMBERT, JACOB FISHER, and others, were present. Sundry resolutions were adopted, and the letter of Hon. JOHN CATLIN, who had been Secretary of the Territory of Wisconsin, was read, as follows:

MADISON, August 22, 1848.

HON. WM. HOLCOMBE—DEAR SIR:—

I take the liberty to write you briefly for the purpose of ascertaining what the citizens of the present Territory of Wisconsin desire in relation to the organization of a Territorial Government. Congress adjourned on the 14th inst., without taking any steps to organize the Territory of Minnesota, or of amending the act of 1836, organizing Wisconsin, so that the present government could be successfully continued.

I have given Mr. BOWRON, by whom I send this, a copy of Mr. BUCHANAN'S opinion, by which he gives it as his opinion that the laws of Wisconsin are in force in your Territory; and if the laws are in force, I think it is equally clear that the officers necessary to carry out those laws are still in office. After the organization of the State of Michigan, but before her admission, Gen. G. W. JONES was elected by the Territory of Michigan, (now State of Wisconsin,) and was allowed to take his seat.

It is my opinion that if your people were to elect a delegate this fall, he would be allowed to take his seat in December, and then a government might be fully organized; and unless a delegate is elected and sent

on, I do not believe a government will be organized for several years. You are aware of the difficulty which has prevented the organization of Oregon for two years past; and the same difficulty will prevent the organization of Minnesota. If Mr. TWEEDY were to resign, (and he would if requested,) I do not see anything to prevent my issuing a proclamation for an election to fill the vacancy, as the acting Governor; but I should not like to do so unless the people would act under it and hold the election.

If a delegate was elected by color of law, Congress never would inquire into the legality of the election.

It is the opinion of most all this way that the government of the Territory of Wisconsin still continues, although it is nearly inoperative, for want of a court and legislature.

I write in haste, and have not time to state further the reasons which lead me to the conclusion that the Territorial Government is still in being; but you can confer with Mr. BOWRON, who, I believe, is in possession of the views and opinions entertained here on the subject.

I shall be pleased to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Yours very respectfully,

JOHN CATLIN.

Judge IRVINE, Mr. MARTIN, Gen. JONES, H. N. WELLS, A. D. SMITH, CHAS. H. LARRABEE, J. G. KNAPP, and many others, entertain the opinion that the Territorial Government of Wisconsin was not abolished by the admission of the State of Wisconsin, but is still in being in that part of the former Territory not included within the limits of the State. Gov. DEWEY told me he had no doubt on the subject.

The following is the opinion of the Hon. JAMES BUCHANAN, Secretary of State, referred to in Mr. CATLIN'S letter, to wit:

"The question is, whether the laws of the Territory of Wisconsin still remain in force in that portion of it now beyond the limits of Wisconsin. I am clearly of opinion that these laws are still in force over the territory not embraced within the limits of the State. It cannot well be supposed that Congress, by admitting the State of Wisconsin into the Union, intended to deprive the citizens of the United States, beyond its limits, of the protection of existing laws; and there is nothing in their legislation from which any such inference can be drawn. The difficult question is, what officers still remain to carry those laws into execution. It is clear to my mind that all the local officers residing in counties without the State line, such as judges of probate, sheriffs, justices of the

peace, and constables, may exercise their appropriate functions as heretofore. Whether the general officers, such as Governor, Secretary, and Judges, appointed for the whole of the former Territory, are authorized to perform their duties within what remains of it, presents a question of greater difficulty, on which I express no opinion. Whatever may be the correct decision of this question, immediate legislation is required; because it is very certain that Congress will never consent to maintain the machinery provided for the government of the entire Territory, merely for the purpose of governing the twenty-five hundred or three thousand inhabitants who reside beyond the limits of the State."

A second public meeting took place agreeably to the following notice, to wit:

NOTICE.

We, the undersigned, citizens of Minnesota Territory, impressed with the necessity of taking measures to secure an early Territorial organization, and that those measures should be taken by the people with unity of action, respectfully recommend that the people of the several settlements in the proposed Territory appoint delegates to meet in convention at Stillwater, on the 26th day of August next, to adopt the necessary steps for that purpose.

STILLWATER, Aug. 4, 1848.

[Signed.]	LOUIS ROBERTS,	JACOB FISHER,
	H. H. SIBLEY,	JOHN COLLIER,
	JNO. MCKUSICK,	JOS. R. BROWN,
	M. S. WILKINSON,	W. HOLCOMBE,
	ANSON NORTHROP,	H. L. MOSS,
	C. CARLI,	S. NELSON,
	JNO. R. BREWSTER,	FRANKLIN STEELE,
	H. K. MCKINSTRY,	P. A. R. BRACE,
	JAS. D. MCCOMB,	HORACE JACOBS.

[*Proceedings of a Territorial Convention held at the Court House at the town of Stillwater, in the county of St. Croix, and Territory of Wisconsin, on the 26th day of August*, 1848, *in accordance with the above notice.*

The delegates to the convention assembled at the court house at 10 o'clock, A. M.

On motion of Mr. JOSEPH R. BROWN, the Convention was temporarily organized by the election of M. S. WILKINSON, Esq., of Stillwater, as President, and DAVID LAMBERT, of St. Paul, as Secretary.

Mr. JOSEPH R. BROWN offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to select a President,

two Vice Presidents, and two Secretaries as the permanent officers of this convention.

Which having been adopted, the chair appointed Messrs. BROWN, JACKSON, FISHER, NELSON and SIBLEY, as such committee.

The committee retired, and after consultation, reported through their chairman, the following gentlemen as officers of the convention:

President, SAMUEL BURKLEO; Vice Presidents, ROBERT KENNEDY, JOSHUA L. TAYLOR; Secretaries, WILLIAM HOLCOMBE, DAVID LAMBERT.

On motion of HENRY JACKSON, Esq., the report was accepted, and the committee discharged. The above named gentlemen were then unanimously elected to fill the several offices designated in the report.

The following resolution was then offered by Mr. JOSEPH R. BROWN:

Resolved. That a committee of seven members be appointed to draft a memorial to Congress, for the early organization of the Territory of Minnesota, and to report such further proceedings as they may think proper for the action of this Convention.

Which was adopted. The chair appointed the following gentlemen as members of this committee under the above resolution, viz: Messrs. JOSEPH R. BROWN, CALVIN LEACH, H. H. SIBLEY, S. NELSON, M. S. WILKINSON, H. JACKSON, and H. L. MOSS.

On motion of Mr. LARPENTEUR, the Convention then took a recess until half past one o'clock, P. M.

Half past one o'clock, P. M.

Mr. J. R. BROWN, as chairman of the committee of seven, reported a memorial to Congress, and one to the President of the United States, on the subject of the organization of the Territory, together with the following preamble and resolutions:

WHEREAS, by the admission of Wisconsin and Iowa into the Union with the boundaries prescribed by Congress, we, the inhabitants of the country formerly a portion of said Territories, are left without a government or officers to administer the laws: and

WHEREAS, by the omission of Congress to organize a separate Territorial Government for the region of country which we inhabit, we are placed in the unparalleled position of being disfranchised of the rights and privileges which were guaranteed to us under the Ordinance of 1787; and without any fault of our own, and with every desire to be governed by laws, are in fact without adequate legal protection for our lives or property: and

WHEREAS, having patiently awaited the action of Congress during its late session, under the full hope and confidence that before the adjournment of that honorable body, a bill would have been passed for the organization of a Territorial Government to embrace our section of the country, we have been disappointed in our hopes, and cannot believe that the omission of Congress to act in the premises can proceed from any other cause than the want of an adequate acquaintance with the position in which we are placed, the character of the country, its population and resources:

Therefore, be it resolved, that a memorial be addressed to the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled, and also to his Excellency, the President of the United States, respectfully requesting that he will invite the attention of that Honorable body, in his annual message, to action in the premises.

Resolved, That a delegate be appointed by this Convention, with full power to act, whose duty it shall be to visit Washington during the ensuing session of Congress, and there to represent the interests of the proposed Territory, and to urge an immediate organization of the same.

Resolved, That a committee of three persons be appointed by the President of this Convention, residing upon the waters of the St. Croix, and three residing upon the waters of the Mississippi, who shall collect information relative to the amount of business transacted and capital employed within the limits of Minnesota Territory, and forward such information as soon as may be, to our Delegate.

Resolved, That there shall be a committee of seven appointed by the President of this Convention to act as a central committee, whose duty it shall be to correspond with our Delegate at Washington, and to adopt all other proper means to forward the objects of this Convention.

The memorials, preamble and resolutions were severally read and unanimously adopted.

On motion of Mr. WILKINSON, the Convention then proceeded to the election of a delegate to represent the interests of the Territory at Washington.

On the first ballot, Mr. H. H. SIBLEY, having received a majority of all the votes cast, was, on motion of Jos. R. BROWN, declared unanimously elected by the Convention.

The chair appointed Messrs. J. R. BROWN and P. A. R. BRACE to wait on Mr. SIBLEY and inform him of his election.

Mr. SIBLEY then made his appearance in the Convention, and accepted the office conferred upon him in a few brief and appropriate remarks.

Mr. WILKINSON offered the following resolution, which was adopted :

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be rendered to BENJAMIN H. CHEEVER, Esq., for the exertions which he used at Washington city last winter, to procure the passage of a bill through Congress for the organization of the Territory of Minnesota.

The chair announced the following gentlemen as the committee to collect information as to business, capital, &c.:

On the Mississippi,—Messrs. STEELE, JACKSON and HURTZELL.

On the St. Croix, — Messrs. HOLCOMBE, WALKER and TAYLOR.

Also, the following gentlemen to constitute the central committee:

H. L. MOSS, DAVID LAMBERT, FRANKLIN STEELE, LEVI HURTZELL, S. NELSON, ORANGE WALKER, JOSHUA L. TAYLOR.

Mr. BROWN submitted the following resolution, which was adopted :

Resolved, That the proceedings of this Convention be signed by the officers thereof, and forwarded by the Secretaries to the editors of the Prairie du Chien *Patriot*, the Madison, Dubuque and Galena papers, and the Washinton *Union* and *National Intelligencer*, with a request for publication.

Mr. WILKINSON offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the President of this Convention is required to issue a certificate to H. H. SIBLEY, signed by himself, the Vice Presidents and Secretaries, certifying that he is a duly elected Delegate under resolution and action of this Convention.

On motion of JOSEPH R. BROWN, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That our Delegate be requested to cause the Orthography of MINNESOTA (when the organization of the Territory shall be effected) to be according to that used in this resolution.

Mr. MOSS offered the following resolution which was adopted:

Resolved, That the Secretaries prepare copies of the memorials to the President of the United States, and to Congress, adopted by this Convention, with the signatures of members attached thereto, and furnish the same to Mr. H. H. SIBLEY, our Delegate, before his departure for Washington.

The memorials were then signed by all the delegates to the Convention, amounting to sixty-one signatures.

Mr. WILKINSON moved a vote of thanks to the officers of the Convention, which was ordered.

On motion of Mr. MOSS, the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

MEMORIAL TO HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES K. POLK, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Your memorialists, citizens of the Territory north of the North Western boundary of Wisconsin, and of the Northern boundary of Iowa, ask leave respectfully to represent:

That the region of country which they inhabit, formed, formerly, a portion of the Territories of Iowa and Wisconsin, subject to the laws and government of those Territories; and a judicial circuit, having within its limits a seat of justice, where sessions of the District Court have been held, and the records of the court are deposited, had been established.

That this region of country is settled by a population of nearly 5,000 persons who are engaged in various industrial pursuits; that it contains

valuable pine forests, excellent arable land, mineral treasures, almost unequalled facilities for mills and manufactories, and possessing an exceedingly healthful climate, is capable of sustaining a dense and prosperous population; that its population is now constantly and rapidly increasing, and is characterized by industry, energy and sobriety.

That by the admission of Wisconsin into the Union with the boundaries prescribed by Congress, and the omission by that body to pass a law for the organization of a new Territory, embracing the portion of country inhabited by your memorialists, they and all their fellow citizens are left without officers to administer and execute the laws. That having once enjoyed the rights and privileges of citizens of a Territory of the United States, they are now, without fault or blame of their own, virtually disfranchised.

They have no securities for their lives or property, but those which exist in mutual good understanding. Meanwhile, all proceedings in criminal cases, and all process for the collection of debts, are suspended; credit exists only so far as a perfect confidence in mutual good faith extends, and all the operations of business are embarrassed.

Your memorialists would respectfully represent, that even in a well-ordered and law-abiding community, such as they feel pride in declaring their own to be, such a state of affairs is fraught with evils and dangers. Its continuance will tend to prevent the immigration of the more valuable class of citizens of the United States, while it will open a door of invitation and allurement to the lawless and desperate. It will foster dishonest and disorderly principles and actions among their citizens, and if suffered to exist for a long period, will bring ruin upon a prosperous and fertile region.

They would further represent, that having been disappointed in their confident hopes that Congress would by its action at the late session of that Honorable body, have relieved them from the painful position in which they are placed, by the passage of a law for the organization of a new Territory in the limits of which they should have been embraced, they now most respectfully lay their case before the highest Executive authority, earnestly asking that your Excellency will call the attention of Congress to their situation at the opening of the next annual session, and recommend the early organization of the Territory of Minnesota.

And your memorialists will ever pray, &c.

Joseph R. Brown, Crow Wing.
A. L. Larpenteur, St. Pauls.
C. F. Leach, Stillwater.
H. L. Moss, do.
Morton S. Wilkinson, Stillwater.
David Lambert, St. Pauls.
W. Holcombe, Stillwater.
J. W. Simpson, St. Pauls.
Henry H. Sibley, Mendota.
H. Jackson, St. Pauls.
Jacob Fisher, Stillwater.
William Foreman, do
R. B. Johnson, do
Mahlon Black, do
W. R. Vail, do
H. K. McKinstry, do

S. Nelson, Stillwater.
C. Carll, do
Wm. Scinchfield, do
John Day, do
John Morgan do
Louis Robert, St. Pauls.
Joshua L. Taylor, Falls of St. Croix, West Side.
Samuel Burkleo, Stillwater.
Robert Kennedy, Pa. Farm.
William Willim, Stillwater.
Wm. R. Brown, Red Rock Prairie.
John A. Ford, do
James S. Norris, Cottage Grove.
P. A. R. Brace, Stillwater.
A. R. French, near St. Anthony Falls.
Stephen Denoyer, do
Vetal Guerin, St. Pauls.
David Hebert, do
Oliver Rosseau, do
Andre Godfrey, do
Joseph Resh, St. Anthony.
Paschal St. Martin, do
Joseph Rondo, Sauk Rapids,
H. Chevri, Raccicot.
Peter Quinn, do
John Banfield, Rice Creek.
David T. Sloan, Sauk Rapids.
D. T. Holmes, do
Wm. Aitkin, Little Rock.
James R. Clewett, St. Pauls.
Edward Blake, Spunk Creek.
Michael Phelan, Crow Wing.
J. B. Cory, Carnelian Lake.
N. B. Ferrell, Rum River.
P. Flinn, do
John W. McLaughlin, Cottage Grove.
Richard McDonald, Little Rock.
James D. McComb, Point Douglas.
Samuel F. Brown, Boles' Mill.
Edward Phalen, Prospect Hill.
Wm. G. Carter, do
Francis Morran, Gervais' Mill.
James Patten, Pt. Douglas.
Peter Gervais, Gervais' Mill.
D. McDonald, Crow Wing.

Hon. JOHN H. TWEEDY, having resigned his office of Delegate to Congress, on Sept. 18th, 1848, Hon. JOHN CATLIN, claiming to be acting Governor of Wisconsin Territory, issued on Oct. 9th, a proclamation dated at Stillwater, where he was temporarily residing, ordering a special election at that place to fill the vacancy.] Said election was accordingly held on the 30th day of October, 1848. Hon. H. H. SIBLEY being elected the delegate, attended the session of Congress of 1848-9 as such, and after the adjournment thereof, published [in the Minnesota *Pioneer*] an address to the people of Minnesota Territory, from which we extract. Mr. SIBLEY says in that address:

"I arrived in Washington two days before Congress convened, and I soon became convinced that my admission as Delegate was extremely uncertain, in fact I may say absolutely improbable.* My credentials were presented on the

[* In an address before the first annual banquet of the "Old Settlers' Association of Minnesota," June 1, 1858, Gov. Sibley referred to the difficulties attending the organization of the Territory, as follows:]

"I desire that none of you shall ever experience more doubt or distress of mind than I felt, when, as a delegate elect from the Territory of Wisconsin, I took the route to Washington City, in 1848, with a view to secure a seat in the House of Representatives, and the subsequent passage of an act for the establishment of Minnesota. I was then an utter stranger to all except two or three of the public men of the country. It so happened that I fell in with some members of Congress, who were also on their way to the Federal City, and among others was Hon. John Wentworth, commonly called "Long John." He manifested much interest in my mission, but advised me by no means to attempt to be admitted to a seat as a delegate, but rather to act as a lobby member, and by so doing, the passage of the Minnesota Bill would, in his opinion, be facilitated. Mr. Wentworth was a good friend of our Territory, and aided much in achieving the final

first day of the session by the Hon. JAMES WILSON, of New Hampshire, in whose hands they were placed, because he had formerly resided in Iowa, and might be supposed to be better informed, as to our situation and geographical position, than any other member. Yet though the case was by him set forth in a clear and strong light, and no objection was raised to my admission, my claim was referred to the committee on elections, with instructions to examine and report thereon. I will not enter into a detail of the mortifications and vexatious delays to which I was subjected from that time until the question was decided, six weeks after. Although permitted through courtesy to occupy a seat in the House, I was allowed none of the privileges of a Delegate, and indeed I was little more than a lobby member. Meanwhile, my claim was resisted with bitter pertinacity by certain individuals of the committee, particularly by the Hon. Mr. BOYDEN, of North Carolina, who made a long and labored argument against my right to a seat, and ridiculed the pretension that a Territorial organization still existed in the

favorable result, but I differed with him in opinion, when he gave me the counsel I have mentioned, and you all know that after severe struggles and considerable delay, I was allowed a seat as the Delegate to Congress from Wisconsin Territory. The bill to organize Minnesota first passed the Senate and was sent to the House. The Senate, being then, as now, democratic, and the House of Representatives being composed of a majority of whigs. The latter amended the bill so as to take effect on the 10th of March instead of from the day of its passage, as fixed in the bill as it passed the Senate. Mr. Polk's administration was about to go out and that of General Taylor to succeed it. The Senate desired to give the appointment of the officers of the new territory to Mr. Polk while the House was as persistent in its own amendment, which would give the offices to the new administration. Thus the bill was suspended between the two bodies, and would probably be killed. The people of Minnesota should regard the Department of the Interior with peculiar interest, for the creation of that new division of the public service carried with it our bill, in the manner following:

The bill for the formation of a new department called the "Home" or "Interior" Department, passed the House; and towards the close of the session its fate was to be decided in the Senate. Several of the democratic senators, although not decided in their opposition, cared little whether a measure which bestowed upon the incoming administration a large additional amount of patronage, would be successful or not. It was while laboring under great apprehensions lest the Minnesota bill should be defeated, that I chanced to find myself in the Senate. I expressed my fears to several of the democratic senators, who were my personal friends, and they, to the number of five or six, authorized me to say to the whig leaders in the House, that unless that body receded from its amendment, and thus permitted Minnesota to be organized, they would cast their votes against the bill for the formation of the Interior Department. I hastened back to the House, called together several of the prominent Whig members, and informed them of the state of affairs. Satisfied that the votes of the senators I named would turn the whole scale for or against a measure they particularly desired should succeed, they went to work in the House, and produced so great a change in a short time, that a motion to recede from their amendment to the senate bill was adopted the same evening, by a majority of some thirty or forty, and into our infant Territory was breathed the breath of life."]

country north and west of the State of Wisconsin. I made a reply before the committee, the substance of which will be found appended to this address. You can judge whether your rights were therein properly sustained and defended. Finally, the majority of the committee reported in my favor. and the minority presented a strong counter protest. On the 15th of January, the subject was brought before the House, and the resolution introduced by the majority of the committee was adopted by a strong vote, which admitted me to the full enjoyment of the privileges of a Delegate. I should have mentioned that my argument, in answer to the speech of Mr. BOYDEN was made the basis of the report of the committee on elections, a copy having been furnished by me to the Chairman at his request.

Notwithstanding the decision of the House of Representatives, which recognized me as the Representative of Wisconsin Territory, it was publicly stated by many members who had voted for my reception, that they did not intend thereby to admit the existence of an organization there, but had been actuated merely by motives of courtesy. This fact was made evident but a few days subsequently, when one of my opponents, being determined to test the question, moved to add an item to the general appropriation bill for defraying the expenses of Wisconsin Territory for the ensuing year, which motion was negatived by a large majority.

The House was then taunted with having admitted a Delegate to represent a territory which had in reality no legal existence.

The great object to which I turned my attention was the bill for the organization of Minnesota Territory. I was kindly allowed, by the committee on Territories of the Senate, to change certain provisions of the bill, so as to meet the wishes of my constituents, and but little difficulty was experienced in procuring its passage by that body. But

with the House the case was far different. The bill was there most violently opposed. The committee on Territories had reported amendments to the Senate bill, changing the boundary of Minnesota, and making the act to take effect on the 10th of March, instead of the day of its passage, so as to preclude the administration of Mr. POLK from making the appointments. I was averse to these changes, because we had already sufficient territory, without extending our boundary to the Missouri river; and as to the appointments, I stated that Mr. POLK would only exercise the right to nominate two or three of the officers, and that under any circumstances the proposed amendment was to my view, a breach of delicacy and propriety; but in both points I was over-ruled.

An effort was made, in committee, to append the Wilmot Proviso to the Territorial bill; but this I resisted, as I determined, so far as it was in my power, not to allow it to be clogged by a provision wholly superfluous, as the introduction of slavery was prohibited on the east of the Mississippi by the ordinance of 1787, and on the west of that river, by the act of 1819, establishing the Missouri line. The proposition was therefore voted down before the bill was reported to the House, but was brought in as an amendment by the minority of the committee, and was only kept from being adopted, and producing consequently a fierce and angry discussion, which would have resulted in the loss of the bill, by my moving and refusing to withdraw the previous question, which cut off all amendments. On the 22d of February, I moved that the rules of the House be suspended* to enable me to submit a motion, that a committee of the

[* The following circular, of which a copy is on file among the papers of this Society, was placed on the desk of each member of the House, in order to aid the motion referred to:

whole be discharged from the further consideration of the bill for the organization of Minnesota Territory, so as to put it upon its passage. The rules were suspended by a vote of 100 to 16, and the struggle then commenced upon my moving the previous question. I turned a deaf ear to all entreaties to withdraw it, and I thereby incurred the ire of those who were inimical to the bill. But after an attempt to lay it on the table, or in other words, to defeat it, which was unsuccessful, it was finally ordered to a third reading, and all opposition to it ceased. It was finally passed on the 2d of March, and sent to the Senate, which body refused to concur in the House amendment, changing the date when the bill was to take effect. By great exertion on the part of my friends and myself, the House was at length persuaded to recede from its amendment, and the bill was passed and became a law on the 3d of March, 1849."

* * * * * * *

The removal of the Land Office to Stillwater, was only effected after much delay and difficulty, as a remonstrance had been made by the members of the Wisconsin Legislature, and sent to Senator WALKER, against its being removed out of the limits of the State. This obstacle was eventually surmounted by the establishment of an additional Land District in Wisconsin, the location of which office has been made at Willow river. A weekly mail has been granted us by the Postmaster General, at my earnest and repeated

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, Feb. 17, 1849.

SIR :—It is not probable that the Bill for the organization of Minnesota Territory, will be reached in the order of business before the Committee of the Whole. As a failure of this Bill would be a most serious calamity to the people of that Territory, I take the liberty to appeal to your kind feelings in their behalf, to sustain me in a motion I shall make on Monday to suspend the rules, that the Bill may be taken up and passed. It is not probable that any debate will take place upon it.

I am, sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant
H. H. SIBLEY.]

solicitation. I was aided in obtaining this grant by the gentlemen composing the Iowa and Wisconsin delegations.

I offered a resolution in the House, which was adopted, to instruct the Committee on the Post Office to inquire into the expediency of establishing a post route from Fort Snelling to Fort Gaines, also to instruct the Committee of Indian Affairs to inquire into the expediency of extending the laws of the United States over the Northwest tribes, so as to make all amenable to the proper tribunals, and thereby put a stop to the murders and other crimes habitually perpetrated among them. I also drew up a bill which was presented in the Senate by Hon. ROBERT SMITH, appropriating $12,000 for the construction of a road from the St. Louis river of Lake Superior, to St. Paul and to Point Douglass via the Marine Mills and Stillwater. There was not sufficient time to push these measures through Congress at this short session; but they will doubtless be effected next winter, as I do not apprehend any difficulty will be thrown in the way of their passage. Much business appertaining to individuals and to private claims have also been entrusted to me, and I have given it as great a share of my attention as other and more important duties would permit.

Having been furnished with a power of attorney, signed by a large number of Sioux mixed bloods, to dispose of their lands at Lake Pepin, I waited upon the Secretary of War and Commissioner of Indian Affairs repeatedly, with a hope of procuring their concurrence in the furtherance of this object. It was finally decided by the former, that as a change of Administration was so soon to take place, it would not be proper for him to enter into any negotiations with me; and he likewise objected, that as many of the signatures were in the same hand writing, and only witnessed by two persons, that the letter of attorney would not be

considered valid in law. I then made the attempt to procure an item to be appended to the General Appropriation Bill, for a sufficient sum to defray the expenses of making a treaty with the owners of the Lake Pepin tract, and for negotiating a general treaty with the Sioux Indians.

* * * * * * *

In the first place, I assert as a proposition which cannot be contradicted, that your Delegate would not have been admitted to a seat if he had appeared there as elected by a party, and that his defeat would have involved the failure of the Minnesota bill, and necessarily of other important projects which were committed solely to his care. I do not make this declaration in any self-gratulation or conceit. There are others among you, who, with the same advantages and the same means, would have performed as much as I have done. But I refer to the fact to illustrate the wisdom of your determination to draw no party lines at the late election. Chosen by the people without regard to the distinctions of Whig or Democrat, my course here has been shaped in exact accordance with that determination. My rule was to keep my ears open and my mouth shut, whenever questions were discussed of a party character, or other matters not appertaining in any way to my own region of country.

You are all aware that I appeared before the people as a candidate opposed to drawing party lines. I believed then, and I believe now, that no such distinctions should be made in a Territory, the Delegate of which has no vote, and whose policy is to make himself popular with all parties. When the time comes, be it sooner or later, that we shall have a population sufficient to justify us in looking forward to our admission into the Union at an early day, then, in my view, will be the proper period to mould the political complexion of the State. My own opinions on points of national policy, are as distinct and well-defined as those of any other man.

Minnesota now occupies no unenviable position. The Government granted us, secures us all in the full possession of privileges almost if not fully equal to those enjoyed by the people of the States. With a Legislative Council elected from among our own citizens, our own judicial tribunals, with a large appropriation for the construction of public buildings, and for a public library, with ample provision for defraying the expenses of the Territorial Government, and with the right of representation in the Halls of Congress, surely we can have no cause of complaint so far as our political situation is concerned. It is for ourselves, by a wise, careful, and practical legislation, and by the improving of the advantages we possess, to keep inviolate the public faith, and to hasten the time when the star of Minnesota, which now but twinkles in the political firmament, shall shine brilliantly in the constellation of our confederated States.

SPEECH OF HON. H. H. SIBLEY, OF MINN.,

BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON ELECTIONS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, DEC. 22, 1848.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Having been elected by the people of Wisconsin Territory to represent their interests, as a delegate in the Congress of the United States, I should consider myself as recreant to the trust reposed in me, by those who have honored me with their confidence, did I not take every proper means to secure my seat, and be thus placed in a position where I may render some service to my constituents. No question has been, or can be raised, with regard to the legality of the election. The certificate of the acting Governor is *prima facie* evidence of that fact. It remains then only to show, if possible, that the residuum of Wisconsin Territory, after the admission of the State, remained in the possession of the same rights and immunities which were secured to the people of the whole Territory by the organic law. In doing this I shall be as brief as the nature of the case will admit; but being convinced that a favorable report from your honorable committee is vitally important, I must be permitted to present all the facts bearing upon the case, and sustain by such arguments as I may, based upon the facts, the position assumed by those who sent me here.

The honorable gentleman from North Carolina, (Mr. BOYDEN,) at your previous meeting, attempted to show that the act for the admission of the State of Wisconsin, was, *ipso facto*, a repeal of the organic law of the Territory.

To support this proposition, he supposed a case in which all the population of a Territory should be included within the limits of a State, except a few individuals, or one man, who might elect one of their number or himself, as a delegate to Congress, and be entitled to admission, upon the principle assumed in the present case. Mr. Chairman, I meet this fairly, by another supposition by no means so improbable. It was seriously contemplated, by a respectable portion of the people, to ask Congress to make the Wisconsin river the northern boundary of the State of that name. If this had been done, some fifteen or twenty thousand inhabitants would have been left in precisely the same situation in which the present population of Wisconsin Territory now find themselves. Would Congress have refused, under such circumstances, to receive a delegate elected by the people, according to the provisions of the organic law? The case supposed is an extreme one. Congress has full power to prevent any abuse of such privileges. But when a large portion of a Territory is left without the boundaries of a State, and no provision is made for repealing or modifying the organic law, does not that very fact, taken in connection with the obligation of a Government to afford to all its citizens the protection of law, make it perfectly clear that the residuum remains under the full operation of the same organic law? To suppose otherwise would be to maintain that a Government has the right, at pleasure, to deprive its citizens of all civil rights, a hypothesis repugnant to the spirit of our institutions and of the age.

The imprescriptable, inalienable birthright of the subject is laid down as one of the national rights of citizenship, of which none can be deprived without their consent. (*Payley's Phil. B. VI. chap.* 3, *Judge Iredell in Talcot vs. Janson*, 3 *Dall. Rep.* 133.) Vattell, in his Law of Nations, B. 1. chap. 2, thus lays down the rule: "If a nation is

obliged to preserve itself, it is no less obliged carefully to preserve all its members." And, again: "The body of a nation cannot then abandon a province, a town, or even a single individual, who is a part of it, unless compelled to do it, by necessity, or indispensably obliged to do it for the strongest reasons, founded on the public safety."

Having thus shown that the point of international law, as received by all civilized countries, is clearly in our favor, I will merely quote a paragraph of the ordinance of 1787, as applicable to the country northwest of the Ohio river. This guarantees to all the inhabitants of that region, the possession of "the benefits of *habeas corpus*, and trial by jury, of a proportionate representation in the Legislature, and of judicial proceedings, according to the course of the common law. We are a part and parcel of the people to whom were secured these blessings, and a decision which would deprive us of the right to be represented on the floor of Congress, would virtually annul all these guarantees, and reduce society into its original elements.

I come now, Mr. Chairman, to the precedents cited in support of my claim, and to which the gentleman from North Carolina so strongly objects, inasmuch as, in his opinion, they do not cover the present case. They are those of PAUL FEARING and GEORGE W. JONES. It is admitted that the former, elected as Delegate from the Northwest Territory, appeared and took his seat months after the passage of the act of Congress admitting Ohio into the Union, and before any other new Territorial organization had been effected. So far, then, Ohio had a perfect right to send a Representative and Senators to Congress. That she did not do so, affects in no manner the merits of the question. She only declined, for good and sufficient reasons, to exercise her undoubted right. During this state of things, Mr. FEARING was in his seat, not as the Representative of the sovereign

State of Ohio, but of the residuum of the Northwest Territory. This is a fact beyond contradiction or dispute. If Ohio had sent her Representatives, they would have been admitted without question. But it is said that Mr. FEARING'S right to a seat was not formally passed upon by the House. But we know that the committee on elections reported favorably in his case, and the fact that he retained his station until the end of the session is good evidence that the House concurred with the Committee in opinion.

In the case of Hon. GEORGE W. JONES, now a United States Senator from Iowa, the circumstances, although not precisely similar, are sufficiently in point to give them authority as a precedent. Mr. JONES was elected the Delegate from the Territory of Michigan, and the State had previously formed a Constitution and sent its Senators and Representatives here to demand admission. True, the act of Congress admitting the State not having been yet passed, they were not formally received; but it is nevertheless equally true that Mr. JONES was elected by the people residing out of the limits of the State, and that he represented the interests of the residuum only. The inhabitants of the State of Michigan took no part in the election of that gentleman. Surely, one or the other of the above cited cases must be allowed to be an exact precedent, if both are not to be so considered.

Mr. Chairman, the *onus probandi* must rest upon those who deny the existence of a distinct Territorial Government in Wisconsin Territory. The fact that the organic law gave to that Territory certain privileges, among which was the right to elect a Delegate to Congress, is undeniable, and it is equally certain that no subsequent action of that body abrogated any portion of that law, or divested the people of any of these privileges. The conclusion is not to be controverted, that a law of Congress creating a temporary Government over a portion of the Territory of the United States,

must continue in force, unless repealed by the same legislative authority. The division of a Territory is not the destruction thereof. That portion formed into a State, and admitted as such, has commenced a new political existence; but the residuum not being in anywise affected thereby, remained under the operation of the old law. The sphere in which each moves is well defined, and there can be no collision between them. The very act establishing the Territorial Government of Wisconsin, provides that Congress shall have the right to divide it into two or more Territories at any time thereafter, if such a step should be deemed expedient or necessary. It did so virtually by the act admitting Wisconsin into the Union.

The honorable gentleman from North Carolina has fallen into a grievous error, when he asserts that during the first grade of Territorial Government, that in which the Legislative power was vested in the Governor and Judges, the Government has not granted them a Delegate in Congress; for Michigan was entitled to and represented by a Delegate, years before a Legislative council was vouchsafed to her. This can be ascertained by a reference to the Journals of Congress. But, sir, I do not conceive this question to have any bearing upon the case before you. The people of Wisconsin Territory are not present by their representative to argue any question of abstract right; but to appeal to this committee to protect them in the enjoyment of those immunities which are secured to them by the solemn sanctions of law. The Government of the United States, when it invited its citizens to emigrate to the Territory of Wisconsin by the formation of a temporary Government, must have intended to act in good faith towards them, by continuing over them the provisions of the organic law. Sixteen thousand acres of land have been purchased, for the most part, by *bona fide* settlers, the proceeds of which have gone

into your treasury. Taxed equally with other inhabitants of this Union for the support of the General Government, they are certainly entitled to equal privileges.

Sir, it is a fact that the inhabitants of the region I have the honor to represent, have always heretofore, since the establishment of a Territorial Government for Wisconsin, participated in the election of a Delegate, and have enjoyed all the rights and immunities secured to them by the organic law. It is equally a fact, that they have a full county organization, and form part of a judicial circuit. Congress was by no means ignorant of the existing state of things, when the State of Wisconsin was admitted, for there were lying at that time upon the tables of both Houses, petitions signed by hundreds of citizens living north and west of the St. Croix River, praying that they might not be included within the limits of the State, but suffered to enjoy the benefits of the Territorial Government. The region north and west of Wisconsin contains an area of more than 20,000 square miles, with a population nearly, if not quite, 6,000 souls. Can a proposition be seriously entertained to disfranchise and outlaw the people? Sir, if it is determined that the Territory I have come here to represent has no claim to such representation on the floor of Congress, then will one branch of the law-making power have sanctioned a principle which will scatter all the restraints of law in that region to the winds. For either the Territorial organization is perfect and complete, or it has been entirely abrogated and annulled. The same authority which provides for the election of a Delegate, gives the power to choose other officers. All must stand or fall together. If we have no organization, as is contended by the honorable gentleman from North Carolina, then have our judicial and ministerial officers rendered themselves liable to future punishment for a usurpation of power If a malefactor has been apprehended, or a debtor arrested,

the officers serving the writ will be visited hereafter with an action for false imprisonment. Our beautiful country will become a place of refuge for depraved and desperate characters from the neighboring States. The vast and varied agricultural and commercial interests of the country will be involved in ruin, and all security for life and property will vanish. But, sir, I do not believe that this committee will consent to give a decision involving such a train of evils, and such utter absurdities. Not a single good reason can be assigned for perpetrating so gross an outrage upon several thousand citizens of the United States, as to divest them, at one fell stroke, of all those blessings of a legal jurisdiction which they have hitherto enjoyed, and that without any consent or agency of their own.

Sir, there are certain fixed principles of law which cannot be annulled by sophistry, or destroyed by any system of special pleading. By these eternal and immutable maxims, are the duties of Governments and their citizens or subjects defined, and their mutual and reciprocal obligations are not to be laid aside, or dispensed with by either. The action of all popular governments must be of a beneficial character to the governed. The one must protect, the other obey. The former is charged with the duty of throwing around its citizens the safeguards of law, while they on their part are bound to uphold the majesty of that law. Circumstances of extreme danger alone can for a moment absolve either from these imperative obligations. Whence then is derived the power of this Government to cast aside any portion of its citizens at will? Sir, when disfranchisement is visited by despotic Governments upon their people, it is to mete out to them the severest punishment which can be inflicted upon a community for political offences, short of actual extermination.

Sir, the case now before you for your action does certainly

present some novel features. It is the first time since the foundation of this Government that several thousand citizens of the United States have been found supplicating and pleading, by their Representative, that they may not be deprived by Congress of all civil government, and thrust from its doors by a forced and constructive interpretation of a law of the land, which does not in fact bear even remotely upon the question. Sir, the wants and wishes of those who sent me here have now no advocate on the floor of Congress. These people have emigrated to the remote region they now inhabit under many disadvantages.

They have not been attracted thither by the glitter of inexhaustible gold mines, but with the same spirit which has actuated all our pioneers of civilization. They have gone there to labor with the axe, the anvil, and the plough. They have elected a Delegate, with the full assurance that they had a right to do so, and he presents himself here for admission. Sir, was this a question in which the consequences would be confined to me personally, the honorable members of this House would not find me here, day after day, wearying their patience by long appeals and explanations. But believing as I do, before God, that my case, and the question whether there is any law in the Territory of Wisconsin, are intimately and indissolubly blended together, I trust that the House of Representatives will, by its decision of the claim before it, establish the principle, which shall be as a landmark in all coming time, that citizens of this mighty Republic, upon whom the rights and immunities of a civil government have been once bestowed by an act of Congress, shall not be deprived of these without fault or agency of their own, unless under circumstances of grave and imperious necessity, involving the safety and well-being of the whole country.

EARLY COURTS OF MINNESOTA.

BY HON. AARON GOODRICH.

Hon. C. K. SMITH, Sec. &c.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th of December, 1850, requesting of me something statistical for this Society. Previous to a compliance with this request, permit me to congratulate you upon the prosperous condition of this Institution, much of which is the result of your untiring energy in faithfully *chronicling* passing events.

You have left but little for me to say. Minnesota is not regarded by the world as classic ground. I know of no spot here, which has been rendered immortal, either by song or story. We have not the fields of Marathon, Pharsalia, or Actium, nor yet the valley of Idumea within our borders. None of these, save those to which the Red man points us as the "Golgotha" of his fathers. We now daily behold, and within but a short distance of our dwellings, the smoke of the Indian wigwam, curling upward amid nature's forest trees, from the place where it arose at a period of antiquity beyond which Indian tradition "runneth not to the contrary." On *this very spot*, which has been for centuries, and almost to the present hour

> "Alike their birth and burial place,
> Their cradle and their grave;"

—our ears are greeted by the "sound of the church going bell," while the spires of our churches are glittering in the beams of the morning sun.

If we have not the tattered banner, borne at the head of victorious legions in deadly conflict in the wars of freedom; if we have not the sabre, the battle axe, the triumphant eagle, or the "dyed garments of Bozrah" to deposite in the archives of this Society, as mutely eloquent remembrances to call up associations of devoted heroes and gallant patriots;

> "Names that adorn and dignify the scroll,
> Whose leaves contain their country's history."

—yet we have something to write that will be interesting to the generations that are to come after us. It will be pleasing to them to trace the history of a powerful State, back to its present Territorial existence; with pride will they point to the record of our time, and say, these are the names of our ancestors; this is no "Delphic" oracle; this is not a doubtful translation of the inscriptions upon the Pyramids upon the plains of Gish, or the Statues of Nineveh—'tis *history*.

On the 19th of March, 1849, President TAYLOR appointed the following named persons Judges of the Supreme Court for this Territory, to wit:

AARON GOODRICH, of Tennessee, Chief Justice.

DAVID COOPER, of Pa.
BRADLEY B. MEEKER, Ky. } Associate Justices.

Responsive to the call of the President, the undersigned bid adieu to Tennessee, and embarked for St. Paul, at which place he arrived on board the steamer Corah, Capt. GORMAND, on Sunday, the 20th day of May, 1849.

On the Sunday following, his Excellency, Governor ALEX. RAMSEY, reached St. Paul, and on the 1st day of June, he proclaimed the organization of this Territory, recognized its officers, and required obedience to its laws.

On the 11th day of June, 1849, the Governor issued his second proclamation, dividing the Territory into three Judicial Districts, as follows:

The county of St. Croix constituted the first District, the seat of justice at Stillwater; the first court to be held on the second Monday in August, 1849.

The seat of justice for the second District was at the Falls of St. Anthony; the first court to be held on the third Monday in August.

The seat of justice for the third District was at Mendota; the first court to be held on the fourth Monday in August.

The Chief Justice was assigned to hold the courts in the first District. Which duty he performed in accordance with the Governor's proclamation. This was the first court held in this Territory; it remained in session six days; sixty cases upon the Docket. The Clerk of the Court of this District was HARVEY WILSON. The following is a list of the members of the bar, who were in attendance at the court:

C. K. SMITH,
M. S. WILKINSON,
W. D. PHILLIPS,
P. P. BISHOP,
JOHN S. GOODRICH,
JOHN A. WAKEFIELD,
H. L. MOSS,
A. M. MITCHELL,
EDMUND RICE,
JAMES HUGHES,
L. A. BABCOCK.

Judge MEEKER was assigned to hold the courts in the second District, which duty he performed—there was no cause pending in this court.

Judge COOPER was assigned to hold the courts in the third District, which duty was performed by him. No cause pending in this court.

There were at that period fifteen lawyers in the Territory.

Up to this time we have had two trials for murder; the accused was in one case acquitted by the jury, and in the other, found guilty of manslaughter, and imprisoned in Fort Snelling for the period of one year.

The first term of the Supreme Court in this Territory was held at the American House, in the town of St. Paul, on

Monday, the 14th day of January, 1850. Judges GOODRICH and COOPER being present.

There is at this time, but one Court House in the Territory; this is at Stillwater.

Having been specially assigned by Gov. RAMSEY, for that purpose, the undersigned repaired to Sauk Rapids, in the county of Benton, (this place is situated on the left bank of the Mississippi, 76 miles above the Falls of St. Anthony,) and on the 11th day of June, 1850, opened and held the first court at that place. There was no business of importance disposed of at this term.

The county of Ramsey now constitutes the first Judicial District. St. Paul is the seat of justice; it is also the capital of the Territory. The Clerk of the Court, Mr. HUMPHREY, informs me that there are now one hundred cases upon the Docket. The Chief Justice was assigned by an act of the first Territorial Legislature to hold the courts in this District.

Stated Terms of court, second Mondays of April and September.

There are now thirty lawyers in Minnesota.

I am sir, respectfully yours.

AARON GOODRICH.

ST. PAUL, March 4, 1851.

EARLY SCHOOLS OF MINNESOTA.

BY D. A. J. BAKER.

For an account of the schools previous to the year 1850, I am indebted to the Rev. Mr. WILLIAMSON of Kaposia, and Mr. ELY of this city. Those schools were connected with the Missions established at different periods and were attended mostly by the Indians and mixed races which then composed the greater part of the population. The first of which I can learn, was at Sandy Lake in 1832, and taught by Mr. F. AYER, followed by Mr. E. F. ELY. During the winter of 1833, Rev. W. T. BOUTWELL, taught at Leach Lake, and the next year the Mission was opened which continued till 1838. In 1834, Mr. ELY commenced a school at Fond du Lac, which continued till the spring of 1839. From 1836 to 1846, there was a Mission school at Pokagoma, taught by Mr. AYER, Mrs. SEYMOUR, and Mr. ELY. In 1835 also, Miss SARAH POAGE commenced a school at Lac qui Parle, and in December of that year, Rev. Mr. WILLIAMSON commenced teaching in the Dakota language. In 1836 Mr. S. W. POND commenced teaching at Lake Harriet near Fort Snelling.

In 1837, Rev. DAVID KINGS opened a school at Kaposia but it was broken up, and in 1839, a boarding school was started there, of which Mr. AMOS JONES was teacher. Mrs. MARTHA BOARDMAN was afterwards associated with him. In the following year there was a school at Red Rock. About this time, Mrs. PERSIS DENTON, taught at Red Wing, and in 1842,

Mrs. L. C. GAINE taught at the mouth of the St. Croix. In the latter year a Mission school was opened at Red Lake by Rev. Mr. AYERS, which I understand yet continues under Rev. Mr. WAIGHT and Dr. LEWIS, also schools were established at Cass Lake, and Little Winnepeg; by Rev. Messrs. BARNARD and SPENCER. Miss J. S. WILLIAMSON is teaching a Dakota and English school at Kaposia, which she commenced in '46 or '47. The attendance at these schools was and is small, varying from 5 to 25, and many of them, who have attended, have never learned to speak the English language. Yet, that much good has been, and is still being accomplished by them, cannot be doubted.

In 1847, Miss H. E. BISHOP commenced the first select school in St. Paul, which she continued till the fall of 1850. She may be considered as the pioneer in teaching an English school of English speaking pupils, and much praise is due to her perseverance under many discouragements.

Miss SCOFIELD followed in 1849 and taught in St. Paul, till the fall of 1850. Both these teachers came, I believe, under the patronage of Gov. SLADE. In 1848 Miss HOSFORD, now the lady of H. L. MOSS, Esq., commenced a select school at Stillwater; though I am told that previous to that, a Miss GREENLEAF had taught at intervals. Mr. L. B. WAIT followed in the summer of 1849. At Point Douglass J. H. CRAIG opened a school, in January 1850; he taught in a large building, and had about thirty scholars through the winter; since that, they have continued to have a private school at that place. At St. Anthony a school was opened in 1849, by Miss BACKUS under the direction of Gov. SLADE. In the summer of 1850 Mr. UPTON taught a school. In the fall of 1850, two district schools were organized, and teachers employed, attendance large. Rev. Mr. HOBART taught the first male school in St. Paul in the winter of '49, using

the Methodist church for a school room. Average number in attendance, 30.

In July, '50, D. A. J. BAKER commenced a school. Average number, thirty; second term forty. October, '50, the first school in the Territory was organized under the statute, in District No. 2 in St Paul, D. A. J. BAKER, teacher. The school, thus far has averaged eighty-five scholars; whole number in attendance one hundred and five. The district owns a convenient house; it was furnished by the Secretary of the Territory with outline maps, globes, &c. The citizens are now making arrangements to establish an Institution, to be under the direction of the Trustees of the District.

In District No. 3, Mr. DOOLITLLE commenced the first District school in November. Average number, thirty five. The studies pursued in the schools up to this time, have been mostly English. Pupils have been thus far learning the spelling book, the key of all knowledge. The Legislature of '49 provided the Territory with a free school law, which in its ample provisions and conciseness of language compares favorably with any of the East. There can be no doubt that by its provisions, it will place education within the reach of all its youth.

St PAUL, 1851.

RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN MINNESOTA.

BY REV. C. HOBART [1851].

The first effort to establish Christianity in this Territory was probably made by the Roman Catholic Church. And although names and dates cannot be furnished by me, yet it is inferable, from the known zeal of her priesthood, and the fact that almost the entire trade with the Indians for more than fifty years has been in the hands of French voyageurs, who are mostly zealous Catholics. Chapels have been built at Lake Pepin, St. Paul, and Mendota. They are rude, primitive structures, built mostly of logs, and appear to have been erected several years. Rev. Mr. RAVOUX officiates at St. Paul and Mendota. Last year a missionary was sent to Pembina.

INDIAN MISSIONS—AMERICAN BOARD.

The first in the Territory, so far as I can learn, was established at Sandy Lake in 1832—EDMUND F. ELY, Teacher and Catechist. The second at Leech Lake, 1833—WM. T. BOUTWELL, Missionary and Teacher. In 1834 a mission was commenced at Fond du Lac, head of Lake Superior—E. F. ELY, Teacher and Catechist. In 1835 another mission was established at Pokegoma (Snake River). The above were intimately connected with missions at La Pointe and Yellow Lake, now within the bounds of Wisconsin. All the missions within the Territory alluded to above were continued with some variations until within a few years, when they were given up.

In 1835, Dr. WILLIAMSON, now of Kaposia, visited this country for the purpose of establishing missions among the

Sioux. Since that time, in connection with Messrs. G. H. and S. W. POND, STEVENS, RIGGS, and HUGGINS, and perhaps others, missions have been established at Lac-qui-Parle, Traverse des Sioux, and at several other places along the St. Peters. Also, at Kaposia and Red Wing on the Mississippi. These missions are still continued, (with the exception of one at Lake Harriet,) and the missionaries have labored amid difficulties and privations with an amount of zeal and perseverance worthy of all praise, but with comparatively little success.

METHODIST MISSIONS.

Missions were established by the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1837, by Rev. ALFRED BRUNSON and Rev. DAVID KING, at Kaposia and St. Peters among the Sioux. In 1838 these missions were continued; and in 1839, Rev. S. SPATES, ——— HUDDLESTON, GEORGE COPWAY, and JOHN JOHNSON, (the two last named converted Chippewas,) were sent to Crow Wing and Sandy Lake as missionaries to the Chippewas. The Crow Wing mission, after a few years, was given up, and a mission established at Fond du Lac.

The mission at Kaposia was changed to Red Rock, and continued until 1842, when it was discontinued. At present there are but two missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the Indians, within the bounds of the Territory, viz: At Sandy Lake and Mille Lac—the last established last year. In addition to the missionaries already named, Rev. Messrs. B. F. KAVENAUGH, H. KAVENAUGH, J. W. POPE, G. WHITFORD, H. J. BRACE, and ——— MCREYNOLDS, have labored more or less in the Territory, among the Indians.

OBERLIN MISSIONS.

In 1843, Rev. F. AYER* and wife, assisted by Messrs.

[*Rev. FREDERIC AYER was born in Old Stockbridge, Mass., in 1803. His father, Rev. OLIVER AYER, removed to Central New York when the subject of this sketch was three years old. At an early age Mr. AYER commenced to study for the ministry, but

SPENCER, WRIGHT, BARNARD, and Dr. LEWIS, were sent out by a Presbyterian Missionary Society, located at Oberlin, Ohio. Since that time missions have been established by them among the Chippewas at Red Lake, Cass Lake, and Little Lake Winnepeg. These are continued at the present time.

SWISS MISSION.

This mission was established at Mount Trempeleau, by Rev. Messrs. DENTON and GAVIN, in 1837, and removed to Red Wing village, at the head of Lake Pepin, in 1838; continued until Mr. DENTON'S health failed, in 1845, when it was given up to the American Board, who still have a mission there.

MISSIONS TO THE INHABITANTS OF MINNESOTA TERRITORY.

METHODIST MISSIONS.

The first missionary sent to this country to preach to the

ill health compelled him to abandon the idea, and he engaged in business in Utica and other places. While there, in 1829, he was sent by the A. B. C. F. M. as a teacher in a mission school at Mackinac. Next summer (1830) he went to Lake Superior, and spent some time in the family of LYMAN WARREN, teaching, and studying the Ojibwa language. The following year he spent at Sandy Lake with the late WM. A. AITKIN, where he opened a school, said to be the first in Minnesota. In 1832 he returned to La Pointe, where he wrote a spelling book for Ojibwa children, which he went to Utica that winter to publish. He returned next summer to Mackinac, where he married Miss ELIZABETH TAYLOR, who had been a teacher there since 1828. Mr. and Mrs. AYER were at once sent by the A. B. C. F. M. to Yellow Lake, where they were entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Dr. BORUP, the latter of whom had formerly been a pupil at Mackinac. Mr. AYER erected a dwelling and school house, and was succeeding very well in his work, when he found he could accomplish more at Pokegama, and removed there in the spring of 1836. Here he established a flourishing mission. In 1841 a raid of Sioux broke it up temporarily, and in 1842 Mr. AYER went east to solicit aid, with much success. At Oberlin, O. he was ordained to the ministry, and soon returned, accompanied by a co-worker, named D. B. SPENCER. Mr. AYER selected Red Lake as his post, and established other missionaries at Leech Lake, Cass Lake, Winnebogoshish Lake, &c. The winter of 1847-8 he passed in the Red River settlement. His severe labors brought on bronchitis, and general ill health. He withdrew from his missionary station, and went to what is now Belle Prairie, Minn., where he established a mission school for Ojibwa children, which afterwards became a flourishing white school, and was continued for a number of years. He opened a farm here, and was a member of the Minnesota Constitutional Convention in 1857. From 1861 to 1865 he was employed in the Chippewa Agency. In 1865, Mr. and Mrs. AYER went to Tennessee as a Missionary and teacher to Freedmen, and finally settled at Atlanta. He labored hard for a few months, when illness attacked him, and he died April 28, 1867, aged 64 years—over 40 of which were spent in faithful mission labor. W.]

white settlers, was the Rev. Mr. HURLBUT, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He came in the fall of 1844, and left in 1845. In 1846, Rev. J. W. PUTNAM, of the same church, was appointed to the St. Croix mission, which included all the settlements on the Mississippi and St. Croix rivers, above Point Douglas. He was continued two years, and was succeeded in 1848 by Rev. BENJAMIN CLOSE.

In 1849, three missionaries were sent to this Territory, and stationed as follows: Stillwater, JAMES HARRINGTON; St. Anthony Falls, ENOS STEVENS; St. Paul, C. HOBART.

In 1850, Rev. JAMES HARRINGTON was re-appointed to Stillwater; Rev. L. DICKENS to St. Paul; Rev. C. A. NEWCOMBE to St. Anthony Falls. Point Douglas was supplied with Rev. L. NOBLES. J. HARRINGTON died in August, which caused the removal of L. NOBLES to Stillwater, and the appointment of Rev. J. W. Dow to Point Douglas. C. HOBART was appointed Presiding Elder of Minnesota District, including all Minnesota Territory and that part of Wisconsin north of Wisconsin river.

BAPTIST MISSIONS.

In February, 1849, Rev. Mr. PARSONS was appointed by the American Baptist Home Mission Society, as missionary to St. Paul. Arrived May 17th. In the fall of the same year, Rev. Mr. BROWN was sent out by the same Society, and stationed at Stillwater. In 1850, Mr. PARSONS was continued at St. Paul; Mr. BROWN appointed to St. Anthony Falls, and Rev. Mr. WEBBER sent to Stillwater.

PRESBYTERIAN AND CONGREGATIONAL MISSIONS.

In May, 1849, Rev. Mr. NEILL visited St. Paul and preached once; returned to Illinois, then to Philadelphia—was appointed missionary to this place by the Home Missionary Society, and returned with his family in July. Rev. Mr.

WHITNEY came to Stillwater in the fall of the same year. In 1850, Mr. NEILL was continued at St. Paul; Mr. WHITNEY at Stillwater; and during the fall, Rev. Mr. SECCOMBE arrived at St. Anthony Falls, and the Rev. Mr. HALL to Point Douglas and Cottage Grove.

EPISCOPAL MISSION.

In the summer of 1850, Rev. Messrs. BRECK, WILCOXSON, and MERRICK, located themselves at St. Paul as missionaries of the above named church to the Territory. They visit every neighborhood on foot, once in three weeks, from Fort Ripley to Point Douglass, and thence to the falls of St. Croix, besides maintaining regular service in St. Paul.

ORGANIZATION OF CHURCHES.

The first Protestant church organized in the Territory, was organized at Fort Snelling, in 1833 or 1834, as I am informed, by Dr. WILLIAMSON, Hon. H. H. SIBLEY and Col. LOOMIS, Elders. This church was dissolved soon after. The first permanent organization was of the Methodist Church, in 1844, by Rev. Mr. HURLBUT.

The following table will show when and by whom churches were organized in St. Paul:

TABLE SHOWING THE ORGANIZATION OF CHURCHES IN ST. PAUL.

Churches.	When organized.	Ministers.	no wh'n orgz'd	No at present
Methodist E. Church,	Dec. 31, 1848.	Rev. B. Close.	8	52
Baptist Church,	Dec. 29, 1849.	Rev. J. C. Parsons.	12	14
Presbyterian Church,	Jan. 6, 1850.	Rev. E. D. Neill.	9	15
Episcopalian Church,	Not organized.	Rev. Mr. Breck.		

CHURCH ORGANIZATION AT ST. ANTHONY FALLS.

Churches.	When organized.	By whom.	no wh'n orgz'd	No at present
Methodist E. Church,	Oct. 1849.	Rev. E. Stevens.	13	24
Baptist Church,	July 13, 1850.	Rev. W. C. Brown.	13	18
Presbyterian Church,	Sept. 1, 1850.	Rev. Mr. Wheeler.	12	15
Episcopalian Church,	Not organized.			

THE DAKOTA LANGUAGE.

BY REV. S. R. RIGGS.

To the Officers and Members of the Minnesota Historical Society:

Gentlemen:—Right sorry am I that, owing to the distance of Lac-qui-Parle from St. Paul, and the season of the year at which your annual meeting takes place, as well as on account of other pressing duties, I am unable to answer in person to the invitation kindly extended to me, by the Honorable Executive of the Society, to address you on the coming occasion. The address which I have prepared has been placed in the hands of the Hon. M. McLEOD, to be used as the Society may judge best.*

Connected with the subject therein presented, is a point to which I wish for a moment, to call your attention: viz: THE DESTINY OF THESE INDIAN TRIBES. It is well understood by all thinking persons, that in their present uncivilized condition, they cannot long continue. Civilization, as it passes onward, must encircle them with its blessings, or sweep them from the face of the earth. They must be civilized and christianized or perish. It seems also to be passing from a state of theory to that of a generally admitted fact, that the Indians in any state, cannot long continue to exist as a separate people. The great American people, will without doubt, absorb every other interest and every other existence within its wide spreading reach.

There are certain great and predominant influences which

* The Address was read at the annual Meeting by Mr. McLEOD.

direct the moral and political formations and transformations, which are silently and constantly taking place in our country. The result of these influences is the production of a homogeneous whole, out of a heterogeneous mass. To a certain extent this is admitted by all—but there are certain elements which politicians, who have grown up under particular influences declare to be not capable of combination. Nevertheless this combination is going on very rapidly, but such persons have not the sagacity to perceive it, or moral honesty enough to admit it. Owing to various causes operating for evil, the unity of the race has been apparently broken up, insomuch that it has come to be denied. That unity will be restored by the progress of science and art, and especially by the universal prevalence of the Gospel of the Prince of Peace—producing a brotherhood of nations.

As it regards these Indians, the question, with philanthropists and christians, is, not whether they can be expected to preserve their national existence, it is admitted that they cannot, the effort to keep them in that state has already operated in a manner very prejudicial to the interests of many small tribes—but the question is, what boon shall we hold out to them, to what place shall we assign them; to what kind of civilization shall we introduce them? Shall we refuse to grant them the rights of citizens, when they become fitted to exercise those rights? If so we press them back into barbarism. Shall we not rather hold out to them with the restraints of law, its blessing and privileges? At present an Indian has very little inducement to change his habits. He thereby cuts himself off from the sympathies of his own people, and he hears no friendly voice, emanating from our legislative halls, saying to him, come up higher. This is a subject for our legislators to consider well.

And what is the type of civilization to which we shall try

to introduce them ? Shall it not be that which eminently characterizes our own age—and which has been produced, more than by any other influence, by the dissemination of the religion of the bible ? Where the Bible is not read by the common people, there the civilization is of a lower grade. Education in the broadest sense of the word—education in the arts as well as the letters of civilization—education for time and also eternity, should be sought for them. Nothing short of this will meet the obligations resting upon us as a people. In the language of Prof. Gammell, in his excellent "History of the Am. Baptist Missions," "their claims upon the sympathies and philanthropy of American christians are, if possible, stronger than those of any other portion of mankind. It is for us that their heritage has been despoiled, and they have been scattered and wasted, and it is to us that Providence has assigned the broad domain, which they lately held by the undisputed possession of centuries. We are daily treading amid the graves of their dead, and are occupying the ancient homes where they once dwelt in barbarian pride and power.

"In their civil relations to the American people, they have been styled the adopted children of the republic ; they are under its protection and within its guardian care. Their condition, on this account, the more earnestly invites the ceaseless endeavors of christian philanthropy, to raise them from degradation, and reclaim them from barbarism, and pour into their darkened natures, the light of the Gospel, which has made our national condition and prospects so different from theirs."

Permit me to subscribe myself,

Yours very truly.

S. R. RIGGS.

Lac-qui-Parle, Dec. 2, 1850.

ADDRESS.

Language is the vehicle of thought; the medium of communication between one being and another. It is a combination of arbitrary sounds and signs, by which one mind communicates its thoughts, feelings, and purposes to other minds similarly constituted.

From the Bible history of our race, it appears that man was created, not only with the power of speech, but with the complete knowledge of a language adequate to the fulfillment of all the high and noble purposes of communicating freely and fully with his kindred man, and also with his creator God. And the first specimen of written language, of which we have any authentic account, is that which was graven by the finger of God, on the two tables of stone, on "the mount that burned with fire." Hence the inference that language, both spoken and written, is from God.

Human language must necessarily be an imperfect medium of communicating the feelings and purposes of mind. It is the channel of thought, and is deep or shallow, as thought is deep or vigorous, or otherwise. And as the abundant rain showers from heaven, falling upon earth's surface, often make new channels of communication with the great ocean, so mind, when invigorated and enlarged, works its thoughts out through new channels, forming new words and forms of speech, or imparting new meanings to those already in use. Hence the study of language is ever new and ever interesting. This must have been so when "all the earth was of one language and one speech," and nothing prevented free communication between all the members of the human family. But much more has it become a study of intense interest, since, as a check on rebellion, God has scattered and separated the one great family of man, by introducing a diversity of languages.

It is a remarkable fact that all languages, barbarous as well as civilized, present but different shades of the same mental philosophy. From this source also, it seems to me, is derived one of the strongest arguments for the unity of the race. At the same time, a careful comparison of the languages of the various tribes of men, will ultimately prove the most certain guide to ascertaining their proper place in the great family, and the time of their divergence from the parent stock.

As darkness and barbarism and war have, in the past ages of the world, been powerfully productive of dialects and languages, so may it not be hoped that the spreading of light and knowledge—the late wonderful applications of science to art—the steamship, the railroad and telegraph—with principles of peace and the religion of the Bible, may be the means of restoring the family of man again, if not to one, at least to the use of a few languages? Christianity and civilization, in their progress, are even now accomplishing this object. Some of the languages of our own American Indians have already perished. And it does not require the spirit of prophecy to foretell that this will be the destiny of all. It would seem highly probable, at least, that the English language, before many centuries, will prevail over the whole of North America. All others will give place and be merged into it.

Having made these general remarks, I may announce as the subject for the present occasion, "THE DAKOTA LANGUAGE." And I do this the more cheerfully, because the members of this Society, as well as the citizens of Minnesota generally, have lately manifested a kindly interest in the welfare of the Dakota people, as well as a laudable curiosity in regard to their language.

The Dakotas, or Sioux, number about twenty-five thousand persons. Besides these, the Assinnaboins are said to speak

substantially the same language. Dakota tradition says that they were originally a family or clan of the Sioux, and were separated by a quarrel which arose about a woman.*

Many words in the Osage language are the same as in Dakota. And the same is probably true in regard to the Omaha. They appear to be branches of the same family.

In the language, as spoken by the different bands of those properly denominated Dakotas, considerable difference exists. The intercourse between the Mdewakantonwans on the Mississippi and lower St. Peters, and the Warpetonwans, Warpekutes and a part of the Sissitonwan family, has been so constant, that but slight differences are discoverable, in their manner of speaking. In some instances where the Warpetonwans use *d*, some of the Mdewakantonwans so modify the sound that it becomes *t*; and where the former use *h*, the latter sometimes use *n*. As a matter of course, some few words have currency in one band, which are not used, perhaps not generally known by the others. But no differences of language which exist are of such a kind as to impede the free intercourse of thought. The Sissitonwans of Lake Traverse and the prairies, present more differences in their speech. One of the most marked of these, is their use of *na* for *dan*, the diminutive termination. As there is less frequent intercourse between them and the Isanties,† (a name given by the Missouri Indians to those living on the St.

* It seems that quarrels about women have very often effected the separation of bands, and made enemies of nations. Mr. A. RENVILLE states that about one hundred and fifty years ago, or in the days of his great grand mother, when the Mdewakantonwan were living about Mille Lac, a quarrel of this kind took place, which resulted in the going off of a large family of Dakotas to the Chippewas. They became incorporated with the Chippewas, and many of the present band of Hole-in-the-day, and also of those who live on the St. Croix, are the descendants of that Dakota colony. He says that many of these Chippewas still trace their connection to Tatankamani and Ohnaahkinyan, who are also the ancestors of Wakute's band at Red Wing. If this statement is true, it can doubtless be verified by those who live among the Chippewas, and will be a matter of interest in the history of both tribes.

† Isan-ati, or Isan-yati, is the Dakota word.

Peters and Mississippi,) their provincialisms are more numerous. And from their connections with the Ihanktonwans of the prairie, they have adopted some of their forms of speech. The chief peculiarity of the Ihanktonwan dialect is, their almost universally substituting *k* for *h*. The Titonwans have made farther innovations. They use *g* hard for *h* of the Isanties and *k* of the Ihanktonwans, and rejecting *d* altogether, use *l* in its place. By the bands of Dakotas east of the James' river, hard *g* is not used, except final in a syllable where a contraction has taken place, and *l* is not heard at all. Thus *chanpahmihma*, (a wagon or cart,) of the Warpetonwans, become *chanpanminma* in the mouth of a Mdewakantonwan, and *chanpakmikma* in that of an Ihanktonwan and *chanpagmikma* with a Titonwan. Hda (to go home) of the Isanties, is kda in the Ihanktonwan dialect, and gla in the Titonwan. Many words too, are entirely different, as for example, Isan, a knife—the Titonwans say milla, and the Ihanktonwans, minna. Isantanka, the name by which the people of the United States are known on the Mississippi and St. Peters, becomes Minna-hanska and Milla-hanska on the Missouri. Young persons, passing from the Mississippi to the Missouri, and listening for the first time, to the speech of the Titonwans, find considerable difficuity in understanding them; and the same is true in regard to young Titonwans, when first they visit the villages of the Isanties.

The Dakota may be said to resemble other languages in the fact, that it consists etymologically of articles, nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections. In its syntactical arrangement, it is like other primitive languages, and unlike the English and other modern languages. This I shall have occasion to illustrate in another connection.

The Latin word "Mamma" was originally Greek, and has come down, in some form, into most modern languages. But the predominant meaning attached to it by the old Romans, viz: "Breast, pap, from which the young is nourished," seems to have been unknown to their eastern neighbors. This meaning we retain in mammal, mammalia, etc. The Dakota word "mama" is used with this same Latin signification. It is a curious fact that "mama" refers to the sustenance afforded the child by the mother, and "papa" is used by the Indians of the prairie for dried meat, the food of man.

A strong likeness is seen in the Dakota pronouns "ma," "mi," (me) and "miye" (me-ya) to the Latin "mihi," "me," "meus," etc; and some resemblance in sound exists between "tu" and "tuus" of the Latins, and "tuwe" of the Dakotas, but the latter means who. When I first commenced learning the Dakota language, this likeness in sound, and unlikeness in sense, was, on several occasions, the cause of my making ludicrous mistakes. The Dakota pronoun "iye," he or she is the same in sense, and probably nearly the same in sound with the Latin "ille"—the double l having the force of y, as at present in the French language.

The only Dakota word beside "mama," which I have noticed as having a strong resemblance to the English, both in sense and sound, is "skepa" (ska-pa) meaning to evaporate, to escape. A friend of mine notices a resemblance between the French word "couler" and the Dakota "kuse," both meaning to leak.

In Dakota there are two articles, *wan* and *kin* or *chin*. It is sufficient for the purposes of this occasion, to say that they are used, generally, where the English *a* or *an* and *the* would be required, but not always, and that their place is after the noun, etc., never before it.

In all languages the names of things form a very important class of words. The Dakota vocabulary of trees and shrubs covers probably all, or nearly all, the varieties which grow in their country. Their names for herbs and grasses are more limited, being confined chiefly to such as are known by them to possess medicinal properties, and such as are the food of certain animals. While they have names for the fruits that grow in their country, they have very few specific names for flowers. The fish in their waters, and the birds and fowls of the air, whether resident or otherwise in their own country, have all names; and it is not strange, though somewhat humiliating, to find the Dakotas better acquainted with the names and habits of these inhabitants of the waters, air, and earth, than we are. Their nomenclature of quadrupeds living in their country, is, of course, not defective; but their knowledge of the horse has not extended back many centuries, as is manifest from the fact that they call him Shuktanka and Shunka wakan, great dog and spirit dog. This is a like formation with mazakan and maza wakan, spirit iron, their name for a gun. Another example of the same kind is found in Wakantanka, Great Spirit.

They have been so much engaged, from time immemorial, in dissecting wild animals, that their vocabulary of terms denoting the different parts of the body, is much more extensive and definite than exists in our own language, aside from the technical terms employed in the science of anatomy. But in terms to express abstract ideas the Dakota language is undoubtedly defective. The ideas themselves, not having entered their minds, they needed not the clothing of words. They do not appear to have any words corresponding to color, time, and space. They do not feel the need of them. They can talk of the different kinds of color, as white, black, red, etc.; and they have words to express the great divisions of time, as day and night, summer and winter; while ideas

respecting space are expressed by long and short, far and near. Like the ancient Latins, their virtue is bravery, and their sin (woartani) is not a violation of the law of God, but the transgression of their own customs, which induces disease or physical evil of some kind. The teachings of the Bible have wonderfully changed the meaning attached to many words in our own language, and they are capable of working the same transformations for the Dakotas.

In this connection, it is only just to remark, that the language under consideration is possessed of great flexibility; almost all words expressing quality may be so changed as to stand for those qualities in the abstract. And nouns of the instrument, nouns of the agent or actor, as well as abstract nouns, may be formed from most verbs.

Of necessity there are now many compound nouns, as Wata-tanka, a large boat; Peta-wata, a fire or steam boat, of *wata*, a canoe. The names of men and women are usually compounded words. *Win* used at the end, shows that it is a woman's name. *Dan*, as an affix, is, diminutive, as wakpa, a river; wakpadan, a small stream.

The birthright names of children, in a family, is a peculiarity in the Dakota language. The first-born child, if a son is Caske (cha ska); if a daughter, Winona (Wee-no-na). The second, third, fourth, and fifth, if boys, are Hepan (Ha-pan), Hepi (Hapee), Catan (Cha tan) and Hake (Haka); if girls, they are respectively Hapan, Hapistinna, Wanske, and Wihake.

The language of relationship among the Dakotas presents some interesting facts. One's father's brothers are all fathers; and one's mother's sisters are all mothers. Their children are brothers and sisters. The mother's brothers, and the father's sisters, are uncles and aunts; and their children, cousins. A woman calls her elder brother timdo; a man calls his elder brother chinye; while they both agree

in calling a younger brother misunka. A woman calls her elder sister michun; and her younger sister, mitanka. A man calls his older sister tanke; and his younger sister, tankshi. A man calls his brother in-law tahan; and his sister-in-law, hanka; his male cousins, tahanshi: and his female cousins, hankashi. A woman calls her husband's sisters ichepan; and her female cousins and husband's brother's wife, ichepanshi. Her husband's brothers she calls shiche; and her male cousins, and also her husband's sister's husbands, icheshi. The same words are used, by both males and females, for grandfather and grandmother, nephew, niece, and grandchild. Son-in-law and daughter-in-law are designated by the same word. The parents of two persons who are married call each other omawaheton, for which we have no corresponding word in English.

Dakota nouns, generally, are not properly declinable. To form the possessive or genitive case, however, they usually prefix or affix pronouns; for example, sunka, younger brother; mi-sunka, my younger brother; nisunka, your younger brother; sunkaku, his or her younger brother. Michinkshi, my son; nichinkshi your son; chinkintku, his or her son. This affix of the third person is confined to nouns signifying relationship. The idea of property is usually conveyed by mita, nita and ta, contractions of tawa, thus; shunka, a dog; mitashunke, my dog; nitashunke, your dog; tashunke, his or her dog.

I know not that any one has ever had reason to complain of a defect, either in the number or power of the Dakota pronouns. Indeed, to minds constituted like ours, accustomed to regard repetitions as unnecessary, there appears to be, often, quite a redundancy. A Dakota can say simply, I love anything, as in washtewadaka; or he can use two pronouns referring to the same person, and thus give emphasis to his former expression, as mish washtewadaka, I I love.

He can say mitawa, mine, simply; or miye mitawa, me mine. In a compounded verb he can use two pronouns, as wahimdotanka, I came, I sat down; and in most cases of this kind one pronoun would be incorrect. The pronouns, I, am, you, are comprehended in the single syllable ci (che); that is, when the action passes from the first to the second person. When introduced into the verb, the objective pronouns take precedence over the subjective, except in the case of the first person plural, and with the second person objective, either singular or plural.*

Words expressing quality, in Dakota, seem to be neither more nor less important than they are in other languages. But, in this respect, the language must be regarded as somewhat defective, as the word *to* must be used to express both green and blue; and skuya means sweet, sour, and salt, and is the only word which the Dakotas have to convey these very different ideas. Contrary to the analogy of most European languages, the Dakota adjective follows the noun, and the adverb precedes the verb.

Words nearly corresponding to more and most and very, are sometimes used in making comparisons. But another method, quite common, which strikes us as eminently primitive, is that of affirming one thing to be good by saying that another is bad—affirming that one of two or more things is the longest by saying that the other is short.

* There are two classes of personal pronouns, those which are used separately, and such as enter into composition.

1. Mish and miye, I; nish, niye, thou, ish, iye, he, she, or it. Unkish and unkiyepi, we; niyepi, you, iyepi, they. Dual, unkish, and unkiye, we two, In some cases these are used objectively, but generally subjectively.

2. Those that enter into composition are; wa, I; ya, thou; un-pi, weya pi, you. The third person nominative, both singular and, plural, has no inseparable pronoun.

Objective—ma and mi, me; ni, you; un-pi, us; ni-pi, you; wicha, them. Ma and ni as used in neuter and passive verbs, are translated by I and thou.

Possessive Pronouns—Mi, mita, and mitawa, mine; ni, nita, and nitawa thine; ta and ta wa, his or hers; unki-pi, unkita-pi, and unki-tawapi, ours; nipi, njtapi and nitawapi, yours; ta-pi and tawapi, theirs. Dual, unkitawa, ours. The latter form in each case, is used separately; the others are prefixed and affixed to nouns forming the possessed rather than the possessing case.

The Dakota verb is by far the most difficult part of the language; and I am acquainted with nothing in other languages quite so complex.

1. In a large class of verbs, the manner of the action, and the instrument used in producing it are expressed by prefixes to the root. Thus, whether the action is done by cutting with a knife or saw—by shooting or punching, or by the action of rain—by cutting with an axe—by striking with a stick, or by the action of the wind—by the foot—by the hand, as in pushing or rubbing—by the mouth, as in biting or talking; and finally, when the action is done by boring, scratching, pinching, or in any other way not specified, these various ideas are expressed by prefixing ba, bo, ka, na, pa, ya, and pu, to the same root.

2. The Dakota verb tells whether one is going home or elsewhere—whether he has come home, or to a place where he does not reside—whether what he has is his own or another's—whether he is eating his own food or his neighbor's, and whether what he is making is for himself or another, and all this by means of prefixes.

3. All active transitive verbs in the Dakota language, have forms corresponding to the middle voice of the Greek and the Hithpael of the Hebrew, in which the action terminates on the actor.* They have also forms expressing reciprocal action.

4. Many Dakota verbs express the idea of relationship by the insertion of ki; that is, convey the idea of doing to or for one's own, as relations or property.

* It has been said that the Dakota language resembles the Greek. This correspondence with the middle voice may be some evidence on that point. Webster, in his admirable dictionary of the English language, under the letter "a," states that the word father in old Greek and Gothic is "Atta," which would seem to correspond exactly with "Ate" of the Dakota, (pronounced ata).

But the mention of the Gothic would seem to direct our attention to some of the northern languages of Europe, to find the birth place of the Dakota. Perhaps one acquainted with the language of Jenny Lind and Frederika Bremer might find resemblances more numerous than can be traced in languages farther south.

5. Frequency of action is expressed by the reduplication of a syllable.

6. A few verbs have a prefix which fixes the action to the middle of object.

7. The pronouns, both subjective and objective, are either prefixed to the verb or inserted. Here one finds the greatest difficulty in acquiring the language. Many persons who understand the language, and are supposed to speak it well, nevertheless, often make ludicrous, and sometimes serious, mistakes in the insertion of pronouns into verbs. The first difficulty which the learner meets with, is to know the place of the pronoun in the verb. The next is to know the relative position of the nominative and objective. And the third and greatest of all is to acquire such a facility in the use of them that they will always come in the right place.

8. The prepositions *to* and *for* are introduced into many verbs, generally between the pronouns, some of which are changed in consequence.

9. The causative form, answering to the Hebrew Hiphil, is made by affixing kiya or ya to the root or ground form of the verb.

10. Most verbs in the language may be used in both the construct and absolute forms. It is sufficiently exact for the present occasion, to say that, generally, wa prefixed to the construct form makes the absolute. For example, yazan, to be sick, is the construct, and is always used when the body, or any particular part of it, is said to be sick—as pa mayazan, my head is sick. But wamayazan is, simply and abstractedly, I am sick. These absolute forms often express the idea of custom or habit in the agent.

From these statements it will be perceived that a full paradigm of the Dakota verb must comprehend a vast number of forms; and it will readily be admitted, that, to master it fully, must be a work of no small difficulty. It will farther

be easily understood that many ideas which we express by considerable circumlocution, our Indian neighbors can convey, more directly and forcibly, in a single word.

The plural of Dakota verbs, as well as nouns, pronouns, and adjectives, is formed by affixing bi to the singular. When either the subjective or objective pronoun is plural, the pi is required, except in the case of wicha, them, used with *wa*, I or *ya*, thou. A noun of multitude is often comprehended in, and represented by, singular pronouns and verbs, as one can readily perceive by listening to the speech of a chief.

The use of the dual form, as in Greek, comprehending the person speaking and the one spoken to, gives variety and beauty to the language. But notwithstanding the great variety of forms which the Dakota verb assumes, by means of pronouns, it is not to be disguised that, in some cases, it is not always plain, which is the subject, and which the object; which the actor, and which the actee. Take, for example, "The Chippewas have killed Dakotas"—Raratonwan Dakota wicaktipi. The natural place for the subject of the verb appears to be before the object; but its right to that place does not seem to be so well determined, as that there may not be a doubt in regard to which is so used. The objective pronoun refers always to the objective noun. The expression often needs an explanation.

The third person singular of the verb, contracted if capable of contraction, is used as the infinitive mood; in which case another verb immediately follows. This is undoubtedly the ground form of the verb. By some of the members of the Dakota mission, it is considered as the participial form. The conditional mood is formed by means of conjunctions. The imperative singular is formed by *wo*, *we*, or *ye*, after the verb; the plural by *po*, *pe*, *m*, or *miye*. *Wo* and *po* are used in commanding; the others in entreating. The Dakota men command; the women entreat.

The power of reduplication possessed by Dakota adjectives, verbs, and adverbs, gives variety and beauty, as well as strength, to the language. The reduplication of an adjective denotes plurality in the noun preceding; as washte, good, shunka wakan washteshte, good horses. In numerical adjectives, it expresses ideas which could not otherwise be conveyed; as, nomnom, two and two, or by twos; wanwanchadan, a few times, of wanchadan, once. In adverbs it denotes frequency of action in regard to different objects; in verbs it expresses frequency of action in regard to the same thing. Baksa means to cut off, as a stick, with a knife or saw; baksaksa means to cut off several times—to cut into short pieces. Ira means to laugh; irara means to laugh often, laugh at, make fun of. In this connection I may criticise the derivation of "Rara," the name given to the Falls of St. Anthony. It has been erroneously derived from ira, and translated "Laughing Waters." "Ira" itself is compounded of "I," the mouth, and "ra," to curl. "Rara" is a reduplication of "ra," to curl; and should be translated "Curling Waters."

In the arrangement of predicate and subject in a sentence, the Dakota language is eminently primitive and natural. The sentence "Give me bread," a Dakota transposes to "Aguyapi maqu ye"—bread me give. Such is the genius of the language, that, in translating a sentence or verse from the Bible, one expects to begin, not at the beginning, but at the end. And such too, is the common practice of their best interpreters; where the person who is speaking leaves off, there they usually commence and proceed backward to the beginning. In this way the connection of the sentences is more easily retained in the mind, and more naturally evolved. There are, however, some cases in which this method cannot be followed. In a logical argument, if the conclusion is first translated, it will, in some cases, need

to be repeated after the premises; but the *therefore* which connects the conclusion to the premises, very frequently, in Mr. Renville's translations, comes after the conclusion. This method of expressing ideas, so entirely different from that to which our minds have been accustomed, makes it difficult to learn to think in Dakota, and still more difficult to think in English and express one's self in Dakota.

For many years the members of the Dakota mission have been more or less engaged, as other duties would permit, in collecting and arranging vocabularies, and in ascertaining and reducing to form the principles of the language. Their lexicons now contain more than fifteen thousand words, not including the oblique cases of nouns, and the various forms of verbs dependent on the introduction of pronouns and prepositions. We do not flatter ourselves that our work in this direction is accomplished. Doubtless there are words which we have not yet gathered, and they may be more numerous than we are aware of. Very many of our definitions are still imperfect, and a few of them may be wrong. We have done what we could.

A strictly phonetic method of writing the language has been employed, and one, in most points, coinciding with that recommended by Dr. Pickering. Thus, for one who can make the peculiar sounds readily, learning to read Dakota requires but little labor. The peculiar sounds of the language are two gutterals, represented by the characters *g* and *r*,* and four clicks, represented by *c. q. p. t.* As the *q* was used for no other purpose, it did not need the mark attached to the other characters. There are at least two other slight modifications of sound which we have not generally indicated. The *f* and *v* of the English alphabet have not been used. *C* and *z* are used with the power of *ch* and sh.

* Pronounced TTU and RHE.

Accent in Dakota is quite important. The meaning of many words depends upon it; as, for instance, *ma*-ga, a field, and ma-*ga*, a goose. The principle of accenting seems to be determined from the beginning of the word, not from the end. In the case of two thirds, or perhaps three fourths, of all the words in the language, the accent is on the second syllable from the beginning. The greater part of the remainder are accented on the first syllable; there are a few cases of polysyllables accented on the penultimate. In words of four or more syllables, a secondary accent follows on the second syllable after the primary. Hence it is not unfavorable to the composition of poetry; but, as almost all words end in a vowel or nasal *n*. rhyme can have very little variety.

The language is sometimes figurative from necessity and sometimes from choice. In the latter case, their figures are often "far fetched." When they ask for an ox in soldier language, they call him a dog; and when a chief begs for a horse, he often does it under the figure of moccasins. Their war songs and others seem to have but little of either the spirit or form of true poetry. A few words make a long song; and, in general, their meaning is just the opposite of that naturally conveyed by the words. For example: naming a young man who has acted very bravely, killed an enemy and taken his scalp, they say, "you are a fool; you let the Chippewas strike you." And this is understood to be the highest form of eulogy.

In conclusion, I may say, that we cannot but regard the Dakota as a noble language; not perfect indeed, but as perfect as, in the circumstances, it could be expected to be—a language, which, while in some things it is very defective, in other departments, abounds in forms expressing varieties in action; and one which, from its great flexibility, is capable of vast improvement. But in a century more it will

probably not be spoken. Nor is it perhaps desirable that it should continue as a living language. The question then is, when it is dead—when the Dakota race, as such, shall have passed away, as their own buffalo of the prairie—shall we not retain an adequate memorial of them? Shall not the names of our rivers be the names of their rivers; and shall not the names of our towns remind us of these races that have become merged into our own? And especially, shall we not hand down to posterity the means of knowing what the Dakota language was? When Minnesota is a great State—when its inhabitants are counted by millions, and when railroads and telegraph wires are the great veins and arteries of its intercommunication, may the archives of this Society show, that we, who now live, have, in this respect, both known and done our duty.

Lac-qui-Parle Mission, November, 1850.

A MEMOIR ON THE HISTORY AND PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF MINNESOTA.

BY HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT, L. L. D.

When France ceded Louisiana to the United States she committed the greatest geographical blunder in her history, excepting the cession of all new France, by LOUIS XV., consequent on the fall of Quebec in 1759. These two events originally stood in the way of the United States eventually becoming a great and leading power; and their consummation was, as it is now seen, the very turning point of it. With a foreign and non-cognate race, as France is, on our entire northern borders, from sea to sea, and the Mississippi locked up, that great valley was as completely bound as LAOCOON in the folds of the serpent. Fortunately, the statesmen of that proud and luxurious court were not wise beyond their generation, and BONAPARTE, when he completed the work, by accepting three millions as an equivalent for Louisiana, thought a bird in the hand worth two in the bush. "*Bush*," indeed! which has already given origin to a cluster of States, and by the dispute with Texas, a Spanish blunder, has brought along in its magnificent train, California and New Mexico. Already the Mississippi River, if we include the Ohio, has thirteen States upon its waters, not counting Territories, and it furnishes an outlet to the commerce of several more.

> "Yet, though no rhyme thy banks to fame prolong
> Beyond the warrior's chant, the boatman's song,
> More happy in thy fate than Ganges' tide,
> No purblind millions kneel upon thy side,
> Beyond the Nile—beyond the Niger blest,

No bleeding PARKE—no dying LEDYARD prest;
Or if one fate foredoomed the Gaul* to bleed,
Success o'erpaid and cancelled half the deed.
Not in hot sands, or savage deserts lost,
A healthful vigor blooms along thy coast,
And ever blest above the orient train,
No crouching serf here clanks the feudal chain.
E'en the poor Indian, who, in Nature's pride,
Serenely scans thy long-descending tide,
Turns, in his thoughts, thy course 'twixt sea and sea,
And shouts to think that all his tribes are free."

Minnesota is the last legislative creation upon its waters, and bids fair, at no distant period, to make one of its noblest States. The area of territory comprised by it is computed by Mr. DARBY at a fraction under 200,000 square miles; and it would be ample, in mere area, for the formation of three large States, facing respectively the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, including the residuary portion of Wisconsin, some twenty thousand square miles of which, in consequence of the ordinance of 1787, can never be incorporated into a State by itself, and comprehending, also, the large area lying above the mouth of the De Corbeau river, which is, in a measure, sphagnous, or arid. For this, we may deduct 80,000 more square miles, which would reduce it to the compass of two States of 50,000 square miles each.

Taking the distance on the Mississippi west, from the influx of the upper Iowa River, to that of the Crow Wing, it cannot be less than seven hundred geographical miles. The quality of the soil between these points, reaching west indefinitely, is of the richest kind of upland and prairie, and is well adapted to all the cereal gramina, and to zea maize. Indeed, the latter is raised, in great perfection, in the valley of Red River of Lake Winnepeg, which is N. W. of the source of the Mississippi. In the settlement of Lord Selkirk, the grain crops are unfailing, and are only affected by floods, or other casualties.

In speaking of the agricultural advantages of the Territory

* LA SALLE.

—and of its soil and climate, allusion is chiefly had to the area south of Crow Wing, above mentioned, and also to the region on the left bank of the river, between Sandy Lake, or Camtaguma, Mille Lac, and the Rum and St. Croix Rivers.

A Territory, indeed, which gives origin to the Mississippi, and furnishes more than a thousand miles of her banks, on her right and left, can neither be small nor obscure. Such is Minnesota. The first subject that demands attention in the new Territory is the name. It has been frequently asked whether this soft and harmonious name be Indian, and if so, in what language or idiom? We have the authority of some practical enquirers in this matter, for saying that it is a compound Dakota or Sioux word, describing the characteristic bluish green water of the St. Peters River. Whether this phenomenon be due to the sedimentary blue clays brought down from its tributaries; to leaves settled in its bed, or to thick masses of foliage overhanging its banks, under the influence of atmospheric refraction, is uncertain. But the Dakotas who live on its banks were early to notice it at its period of summer depression, and have embodied the description in the term Minnesota. *Min-ee* simply, in the Sioux language, signifies water. The term for river, *wah-ta-pah*, which the natives use as a noun-prefix, is properly dropped in adopting the word into a new language.

By the Chippewas, who live north and east of the Dakotas, this river is called *Oskibugi Seepi*, or the Young Leaf River in allusion to its early foliage, or premature time of putting out leaves; while the more boreal regions occupied by them are still standing in their wintry leaflessness. Compared, indeed, to the shores of Lake Superior, the valley of the St. Peters is an Italy. But to the Saxon and Norman emigrant, who seek the country for its capacities of industrial employment, it has a higher value. The whole of southern and central Minnesota, is eminently suited to the zea maize and

the entire family of the cereals. There is no part of the great west better adapted to wheat, corn and the leading staples of northern agriculture. The St. Peters has long been noted, among travelers, for its precocious and blooming gardens, and it is found that the sylvan basin of Lake Pepin, and the valleys of the St. Croix, the Issati, or Rum river, with the St. Francis, Carneille, Saukis, and higher tributaries, are equally rich in their floral character and power of vegetation. Profitable agriculture must extend, township by township, to the DeCorbeau; and it must be borne in mind, that Indian corn which cannot be cultivated at Sault Ste Marie, in latitude 46° 30′, is raised by the Indians annually, and ripens early in August, at the very sources of the Mississippi and at Red Lake, north of them. The latter point is but a few seconds south of north latitude 49°.

Meteorological observations made at Forts Snelling and Atkinson, for many years, indicate a highly favorable climate; at the latter post, the maximum heat, for the months of May, June, July and August, 1848, was 82°, 88°, 84°, 81°, respectively; the mean temperature, during the same months, being, in their order, 63°, 65°, 71°, 62°, and the minimum 36°, 47°, 51°. Thunder showers are frequent in those latitudes, and even on the higher tributaries of the Mississippi. The amount of free electricity is thought to produce local currents which mitigate the sultriest days. Thirty seven inches of rain fell at Fort Atkinson in 1848.

By observations made at Sandy lake in July, 1820, (vide SCHOOLCRAFT'S Nar. Jour., Pub. Ex. p. 263,) the maximum heat at that high point is shown to be 60°, and the mean temperature between the 17th and 24th of the month 73°, which is a little *higher* than the entire monthly average heat in 1848 at Fort Atkinson, lying some four hundred miles atmospherically, south. Probably the entire month would

sink the northern average a couple of degrees, showing a remarkable equality of summer temperature over a very wide range.

VOLNEY appears to have been the first observer to notice the prevalence of a valley current, from the tropical latitudes up the Mississippi—a remark in which he is sustained, at later dates, by Dr DRAKE and Dr. HILDRETH. It is evident, from the scanty materials we possess, that this gulf current does not spend its force until it has well nigh reached the southern terminus of the Itasca summit. It is certain that the extreme upper Mississippi escapes those icy winds from Hudson's and Baffin's bays, which are often felt, during the spring months, in northern Michigan and northern Wisconsin. The same latitudes which cross the lake country, give a milder climate in the valley of the upper Mississippi. One of the causes of this phenomenon has probably been noticed above. Others will doubtless be found by a scientific scrutiny of its meteorology. Mr. EPSY will enlighten us.

Longevity must characterize a country without fevers or congestions. Surgeons, who have been stationed at the military posts of Minnesota and the upper Mississippi, generally give a very favorable view of its diseases and their diagnosis, under the effects of the climate. Malignant fevers seldom or never originate. in these longitudes, north of latitude 44°. It is also well known that the cholera, which in a single instance, in 1832, was carried by a steamboat as high as latitude 46°, did not spread at that sanitary point, namely, Michilimackinac, but was confined south of the general latitude of 43° to 44°, which is, according to the late Dr. FORREY, very nearly the northern isothermal line. Both Green Bay on the east and Prairie du Chien on the west, of Wisconsin, escaped its ravages. So far, however, as fevers and malignant diseases have been locally compared,

there is a decided tendency to pass the lake latitudes in the Mississippi valley.

Both banks of the Mississippi, within the boundaries of Minnesota, are quite elevated. This elevation is rocky, and often precipitous, at the river's brink, as high as St. Anthony Falls. Above that point, which is, according to NICOLLET, in latitude 44° 58′ 40″, a succession of elevated plains, with forests of the drift stratum, come in, and characterize both banks, as far up as Sandy Lake, and with intermissions, quite to the falls of Puckaguma. The consequence of this elevation is that its waters, which reveal themselves abundantly in pure springs, lakes, and streams, flow into the Mississippi with rapid currents and cascades, presenting numerous seats for hydraulic works. At these works the pine forests of Minnesota may be readily converted into lumber, to supply the central and lower portions of the Mississippi. The falls of the St. Croix, of the Chippewa, and other tributary streams, have already been occupied in part with such works. At the falls of St. Anthony, where the Mississippi drops sixteen and a half feet perpendicular,* with strong rapids above and below, its power may be thrown, by a series of mill canals, upon almost any amount of machinery. This point, which is distant nine hundred miles above St. Louis, and two thousand and two hundred miles from the Gulf, is the true head of steamboat navigation, and must become an important manufacturing city and point of transhipment. In a future state of the country, steamboats of moderate tonnage may be built above the falls, to run, during the freshets, as high as Comtaguma, or Sandy Lake, and Puckaguma. They may also ascend the De Corbeau to the mouth of Leaf River.

The topography and general geography of Minnesota

* PIKE.

cannot be well understood without giving full prominence to the character, course, and origin of the Mississippi.

Geologically considered, the Mississippi River originates in the erratic block-groupe of drift stratum of the north, in longitude 18° west of Washington, and north latitude 47° 13′ 35″, agreeably to Mr. NICOLLET. This stratum developes itself in a prominent range of sand hills, once perhaps naked ocean dunes, which throw out copious springs of the purest water on all sides. These infant sources of the "father of rivers," first gather themselves together in a handsome lake, called Itasca, or La Biche, of some five miles in length, whose shores are surrounded with deciduous trees —pines being in sight on the neighboring ridges, and having a beautiful island near its centre, rich with the foliage of the elm, wild cherry, soft maple, and other northern species. From this lake the Mississippi sets out on his wonderful course of more than 3,000 miles to the Gulf, by an outlet sixteen feet wide, with a depth of fourteen inches—making a body of pure crystal water, gliding rapidly over its sandy and pebbly bed, in which the traveler, as he shoots along in his canoe, can see the broken white and pearly valves of the unio, and other fresh water shells of the lake, scattered in its bed.

Thus much topographically. This great northern drift stratum, which constitutes the height of land, rests on a broad range of the crystaline or primary rocks, which cross the continent, between latitudes about 44° to 50°, linking together the mountain group of the Labrador and Hudson's bay's coasts with the Rocky Mountains. To these broad ranges and mountain outbreaks as they are developed, west of James' Bay and north of Lake Superior, BOUCHETTE, the geographer of Canada, has applied the name of Cabotian mountains, in allusion to the true discoverer of north America.

Agreeably to this theory, the St. Louis River, which falls into the head of Lake Superior, presenting a series of magnificent views and cataracts, passes transversely through the Cabotian chain, while the Rainy Lake, and the Lake of the Woods, lie north of it. This range of transverse rocks, which, with all its diluvial and drift covering, does not rise over 1,600 feet above the ocean, may be said, by its "rocky roots," to continue west from the Itasca highlands, and to divide the waters of the Upper Missouri from those of the Saskatchiwine and Assinaboin valleys of Red River and Lake Winnepec. The natural line of elevations denotes this. It is, in fine, the transverse Wasserochied, between the Hudson's Bay and the St. Lawrence waters, and those of the Gulf of Mexico.

It is impossible to visit this remote summit, to which the French apply the term *Hauteur des Terres*, and examine its oceanic dunes, gravel beds, sand plains, and other characteristic features, without supposing the present condition of its surface to be the result of oceanic currents, however produced, which at a very ancient period of the globe's history, poured their waters over these heights, surcharged with the ruins of broken strata and disrupted formations which once spread over the area north of them.* Whether ice had any influence in this distribution, let Mr. AGASSIZ decide. We observe, amidst the heavy beds of comminuted sandstones and slates, and primary rocks from remote positions, very widespread evidences of trap and greenstones, grauwaches and amygdaloids, which tell the prostration of volcanic formations, with all their peculiar imbedded minerals and veinstones. Of these latter, the harder varieties of the quartz family, with zoned agates, and less abundantly, chalcedonies and carnelians, are found, both in the dry drift, at the highest elevations, and about the shores

*Geological report of the Expn. of 1820, War office, Washington.

of lakes and streams. These masses have been carried, by fluviatile action, down the Mississippi valley, to great distances, suffering more and more from the force of attrition. They are often picked up very well characterized, on the shores of Lake Pepin. I have traced them as low as St. Louis and Herculaneum.*

It is a peculiar feature of the Itasca summit and its various steppes, that it has a subsoil or deposite of an aluminous or impervious character, resting below the various sand plains, loams, and loose carbonaceous and lacustrine beds. This appears to be the true cause of the retention, at these heights, of a vast body of water, in the shape of lakes, which are of every imaginable size, from half a mile to thirty miles in length. It will not be too much, perhaps, to say, that ten thousand of these lakes exist within our borders, north of latitude 44°. These lakes in the drift stratum, so remarkable for their number, consist of transparent, most often very pure water, the temperature of which is generally 8° to 10° below that of the atmosphere, (vide SCHOOLCRAFT'S nar. jour. pub. Ex. of 1820. p. 168 &c.) They are supposed, in several districts, to have a subterraneous communication with each other, whereby their purity and liveliness is preserved, without visible outlets. The water that sustains such a system of lakes and rivers, is manifestly the result of the condensed vapors of the ocean, which have been wafted from warmer latitudes, and condensed on these broad eminences.

The lakes of the sub-mountain region of Minnesota may all be considered as falling under two classes, those with clean sandy shores, and a considerable depth, and those whose margins consist of a sphagnous character, and abound in the *zizania palustris*, or wild rice, and are comparatively shallow. The former yield various species of fish. The

*View of the Lead Mines Missouri, 1819.

latter serve not only as a store house of grain for the natives, who gather it in August and September, but they invite myriads of water fowl into the region, and thus prove a double resource to them. It is constantly affirmed, that fish are taken in lakes which have no visible outlet. Some of the larger open lakes connected with the Mississippi, yield even the white fish, which is so celebrated in the upper lakes—while in no case has fish of this species ever been found in the Mississippi itself.

For the country around the sources of the Mississippi, extending to the Lake of the Woods, and the old Grand Portage of Lake Superior, there should be deducted from the area of profitable agriculture, about 60,000 square miles. Some portion of this, as the angle west of Lake Superior, extending to the Lake of the Woods, and the source of the St. Louis river, and the Sandy Lake summit, is nearly all naked rock, of the primitive and volcanic kinds, and is entirely valueless for the purpose of agriculture. Another portion of it, reaching across the actual head waters of the Mississippi to the high ground of the Otter Tail Lake, and Itasca summit, has a large proportion of arid sand hills and plains, and an almost illimitable number of lakes and *Muskeegs.** The proportion of fertile lands in this area, is rendered less valuable than it otherwise would be, from its isolation by these waters and barrens, and the impracticability of connecting them by roads. West of the *Hauteur des Terres*, the lands are fertile, consisting of woods and prairies, are easily traversed, and are capable of constituting valuable agricultural settlements. Probably three degrees of latitude, south of 49°, may be considered the extent of this tract.

This region has been considered as a central point for the Fur trade. It has been noted from the first settlement of

* Geological Report, 1820.

Canada, as abounding in the small furred animals, whose skins are valuable in commerce. Its sources of wealth, to the native tribes, have been in the articles received in exchange for their skins. It has at the same time, had another singular advantage from the abundance of the native grain called *monomin* or rice, by the Indians, which it spontaneously yields. Its lakes abound with water fowl and fish. Its forests and valleys yield a sufficiency of the acer sacherinum, to enable the natives to make maple sugar; and if the Territory of Hudson's Bay were ceded to the United States, it would form a suitable area for an Indian colony.

Besides the beaver, otter, mink, muskrat, fisher and martin, whose furs are valuable, it yields many of the larger quadrupeds. There are some portions of it, where that remarkable animal still exists, which the Indian calls moz, and the Americans, moose, the largest of the deer species. This large animal, which has nearly the strength of a horse, and resembles it in height, is very wary, and quick of hearing. The least noise disturbs it, and the Indians hunt it with great care. Its flesh is much esteemed by them. Besides the elk, red deer, and common black bear, its western skirts, on the Red river plains, yield the grizzly bear—the lion of the region, if strength is the point at issue. To kill this animal, is an object of prime boasting, with the natives and hunters.‡

Portions of the country yield the carriboo, which is an American species of the reindeer—the *Cervux Americanus*. This beautiful and fleet animal, which has a very marked split hoof, is provided with a foot, that enables it to spread it over a considerable surface, at every step, which enables it to walk on the surface of the deepest snows. It subsists during the winter season, on mosses. Its flesh is a

‡ Lecture on the natural History of Michigan, 1831.

most delicious and delicate venison, and its skin is dressed, by the Indian females, for their finest garments.

It is not true, as has been supposed, that the glutton, or hyena of Europe, exists on the sources of the Mississippi. The only species of this family, found by the hunters, is the wolverine—a vicious animal, which will dig up *caches* of provisions, and commit various depredations.

To the naturalist, the region is deeply interesting; but an enumeration of its various productions, would require more time and space than are at our command.

To trace the Mississippi to its source, amidst this maze of pseudo-alpine hills and lacustrine steppes, spreading over half the continent, was not, indeed, a light task. But it was hardly to be anticipated that it should have remained undiscovered for so long a period after its mouth had been well known; after its central portions had been often described; and even after its channel had been followed up its spreading maze for six or seven hundred miles above St. Anthony's Falls.

It is curious to look into this problem, It is now known, since the publication of the collections of TERNOUX CAMPANS at Paris, that the Spanish under NARVAEZ, discovered the mouth of the Mississippi in coasting the Gulf shore in boats in the autumn of 1527, just six years after the final conquest of Mexico. The Apalachites had told them of a great river falling into the northern side of the gulf; but they were slow to explore it. At length the rage for conquest of a captain who had followed the standard of PIZARRO, led to its exploration. The ill-fated expedition of DE SOTO, and his discovery of this stream in 1541, near the 25° of north latitude, are well known. But it was the only attempt to explore it made by Spain. For more than a century after DE SOTO'S failure, the Mississippi rolled its immense volume to the ocean as a hidden stream. The French, who began to settle

Canada in 1608, were long confined to the lower parts of the St. Lawrence, both by their inherent weakness and the enmity of the Iroquois. The overthrow of the Erie confederacy by the latter in 1653, only served to cramp the French enterprise, and exposed them more fully to the ire and scrutiny of this rising power. Even thirty years later in their history, the French trading posts still rested at Sault Ste Marie, St. Ignace, St. Joseph's, and Michilimackinac.

In 1668 CLAUDE ALLOUEZ established a mission near the head of Lake Superior. Five years later, namely in 1673, P. MARQUETTE and M. JOLIET entered the Mississippi by the Wisconsin, and explored it downwards to the Illinois. About this period a great mind for its energy and the magnificence of its plans arose in France, in the person of ROBERT DE LA-SALLE, who, if his life had been spared, would have founded a great French empire in the West. It is probable that the ardor of the missionary reports first drew his attention to North America ; but, whatever was the cause, he was a man far in advance of his age.

HENNEPIN, who came over with him during his first visit in 1678, appears to have been the first traveler who saw the Mississippi above the Wisconsin. He left Fort Crevecœur, which had been erected by LA SALLE on the Illinois, with a couple of men in a canoe, on a missionary excursion in 1680. After reaching the Mississippi, at the mouth of the Illinois, and exploring its channel for some distance below, (how far is apocryphal), he was taken prisoner by the Nodowessies, a name then in vogue for the Dakotas or Sioux, and carried into their country among the Issati, above St. Anthony's Falls. This name of Issati, after having puzzled inquirers, and cast discredit on HENNEPIN'S narrative of his captivity for more than a century and a half, has recently been found by Dr. WILLIAMSON to be the name of the ancient Sioux residence of Mille Lac.

ISANTA-MDE means Knife lake, and from this ancient seat of the Sioux. their Missouri brethren call all the Mississippi Sioux, Isanyate. We are indebted to HENNEPIN for the names he bestowed on St. Anthony's Falls and the river St. Francis, which last was the highest point reached by him.

The actual discovery of the upper Mississippi rested here about eighty-three years. LA HONTAN, who amused the world with a supposititious voyage up its channel to "Riviere La Longue," never saw it, and discovered nothing. Quebec fell in 1759, and the cession of all new France to the British crown followed in three years. In 1766, three years after the cession, CARVER visited the region of St. Peters and the falls of St. Anthony, with enlarged views of discovery; although admitting the utmost point claimed by him, he did not ascend above the mouth of the St. Francis. He published in London a vague map of the sources of the Mississippi, and appears to have been the first traveler who used the word Oregon. It was his notion that the Oregon, now Columbia river, originated on a continental summit near the source of the Mississippi. But his expedition was a failure; and, after crossing the Atlantic, he appealed to ministers in London, in vain, to furnish him means for its further prosecution. The booksellers published his journal to meet his necessities, and employed hacks to fill up the appendix. This was chiefly done by consulting the French authors.

No further attempt to explore its source was made till after the acquisition of Louisiana, a period of thirty-nine years. In 1805, Mr. JEFFERSON determined to get some more definite ideas than were then common, of the extent of the newly acquired country, and set on foot the celebrated expeditions of LEWIS and CLARKE, and of LIEUT. PIKE.

PIKE did his work like another LEDYARD. Leaving St. Louis in 1805, he pushed his way in boats two hundred and thirty-three miles as estimated, and over estimated by him, above St. Anthony's Falls to Pine creek, an eligible point for encampment, south of Crow Wing, or Des Corbeau river, which he reached on the 15th of October, where the ice and snow arrested him. He built a block house, encamped his men, and left his heavy baggage at this point. He then went forward on snow-shoes, with hand-sleds, dragged by men, to Sandy lake and Leech lake, and finally from the latter, with a well-equipped dog train, to the sub-trading post of the north-west company at upper Red Cedar lake. This was the terminus of his journey, which he reached on the 12th of February, 1806. The whole country was then covered with a garb of ice and snow, which forbid further search.

The error of PIKE'S expedition was his starting too late in the season; but he was a good woodsman and hunter, and not to be disheartened by slight obstacles. The British North West Trading Company then held the country, and having carried on trade with the Indians illegally, their furs and peltries were justly subject to seizure. This put them on their best behaviour with PIKE, to whom they afforded every facility of passing from post to post. They also furnished him rude maps and information of the country, which enabled him on his return, with his own notes and journal, to plat the map that accompanies his "Expedition." Agreeably to these notes, gathered in the winter, and without personal observation, he places the source of the Mississippi in Turtle lake—a common error of the traders going to Red river, who troubled themselves no further with its exploration than it suited the purposes of their trade. Nor does it appear that, even down to the present day, they

ever had a trading post on the main stream above upper Lac Cedre Rouge.

Such were the sources of the Mississippi as depicted by PIKE. The information embraced in his map and journal was an immense advance on any that had before been known; nor was the subject again stirred till some years after the close of the war of 1812. That war opened new views to pioneer enterprise, and population began to press in every direction. Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri were admitted into the Union in rapid succession, and it became an object with the Government to push its line of forts and frontier defences, so as to protect from Indian aggression the outer and expanding line of settlements. In 1818 Mr. CALHOUN, who was then Secretary of War, authorized a series of semi-military and scientific explorations in the West. Major LONG set out for the Yellow Stone.

I was then in Missouri, having the previous season, explored the geology and mineralogy of the mine country.*

Mr. CALHOUN'S plan was to throw a military cordon around the Far West settlements, and thus to secure them against Indian aggressions. He was, in advance of his time, looking Far West and North West.

A plan for investigating the resources and Indian population of the North West, and for tracing the Mississippi to its source, was prepared by, and confided to, the executive of Michigan. He was furnished with a small escort under Lieut. MACKEY and Capt. B. DOUGLASS, U. S. Engineer, and having invited a corps of scientific observers, set out from Detroit in May, 1820, passing to the head waters of the Mississippi by the way of Lake Superior and the river St. Louis. He first struck its waters at Sandy lake, being some two hundred and fifty miles (by water) above the point where PIKE had built his block house in 1805. Here he encamped

* Views of the Mines, 1819.

his soldiers and deposited his heavy baggage, and proceeded to trace up the river in two light canoes. He followed it by its windings and savannas, to upper Red Cedar lake—a large and handsome sheet of water, which geographers have since called Cassina or Cass lake, in allusion to his visit. When he reached the inlet of Turtle river, on its north shore, he found the state of the waters unfavorable to go higher. This lake, which NICOLLET lays down in north latitude 47° 25 23, was the terminus of this expedition, which returned by St. Anthony's Falls, &c., to the lakes.

Capt. D. B. DOUGLASS (lately deceased as one of the professors of Geneva College) carefully noted its topography, but never published his map. On concluding the expedition, Governor CASS addressed a memoir to the Secretary of War, recommending the exploration of the St. Peters river and other sections of country. This became the cause of the expedition up that stream, conducted in 1823 by Major S. LONG, U. S. A.

By this important expedition, of which my account published early in 1821, gives a narrative, the first outlines of the geology and natural history of the North West are given. The channel of the Mississippi had been critically surveyed and traced for some eight hundred miles above Prairie du Chien, and our knowledge of its general geography and character was greatly advanced. None of our earlier expeditions to explore the West had indeed excited a higher degree of interest in the public mind. It was the first of the modern series of public scientific explorations. Sir HUMPHREY DAVY and Major RENNEL commended it.

In 1813 Major LONG executed part of the discovery, which had been suggested by Gov. CASS. He traced the St. Peters to its source, and extended his explorations to Lake Winnepeg, and thence homeward by the

Lake of the Woods and the Rainy lakes, and through Lake Superior. While he was at Pembina, or thereabouts, a Mr. BELTRAMI, who had accompanied him from St. Peters, fell out with the party, or the party with him, and took his way back by the Turtle river, the old route of the fur trade, to the upper Mississippi. When this person reached New Orleans, he published a small volume claiming the discovery of the Mississippi in Turtle lake.

It is a peculiar feature in the history of the Mississippi, that this stream has been discovered *in sections*, at long intervals apart. Spread over so many degrees of latitude, and made up of so many and such magnificent tributaries, it has long eluded the explorer. Neither the expeditions of 1805, nor of 1820, had fixed its actual *source* above the upper Red Cedar lake. This point, having been the historiographer and geologist of the last expedition, I determined to ascertain. In 1832 the Government required my services in that quarter, in the capacity of Superintendent of Indian affairs; and furnished me the necessary means for exploring the remotest part of the Indian territory.

An expedition for this purpose was organized at St. Mary's at the foot of Lake Superior, early in the season. The prime object of the expedition was to terminate, if possible, the existing hostility between the Sioux and Chippewas. The Sacs and Foxes were on the eve of the sanguinary war which broke out that year. It was hoped by the Secretary of War, to arrest it. A *canoe elege*, with an experienced set of voyageurs, carried the U. S. flag. Lieut ALLEN, U. S. A., with a small detachment of infantry soldiers accompanied me. I had engaged the late Dr. HOUGHTON, an experienced botanist and geologist, to attend me for the purpose of vaccinating the Indians, and invited Rev. Mr. BOUTWELL to accompany

me. These, with Mr. GEORGE JOHNSTON, as interpreter, and a number of Indian guides, hunters, &c., in all thirty men, completed my party. It was organized on strictly temperance principles. A certain object was to be accomplished in a given time. Discoveries were contingent. We pushed early and late. It was a time of great excitement among the Indians. They had combined, for the last time it is believed, to battle for their country east of the Mississippi.

It was the year of the war under BLACK HAWK. Eleven tribes had, as I found, confederated in this war and agreed to stand by the Sauk chief; but most of them flinched. We passed Fond du lac and Sandy Lake, where the width of the Mississippi was measured, and the falls of Puckagama, in good time, and reached Cass Lake, the ultimate point of the prior explorations of 1820, *twelve days* earlier in July, than the last expedition. This was sufficient, and insured the object. I encamped on the large island, which by a combination of the names, or fragments of names, of the three prior explorers, was called Colcaspi, the Grand island of the French. To this point I was accompanied by the military escort, under Lieut. ALLEN, who were completely knocked up, and by all the heavy baggage and stores. Here I determined to encamp, and leave all the disabled and extra men, and the whole military escort, except its commander, and organize a light expedition to go to its source. A week's time would be sufficient. The water was found high, and the Indians reported such a journey practicable. OZAWINDIB, or the Yellow Head, the principal chief of the lake, agreed to serve as guide. Five small hunting canoes, of two fathoms length, were provided, so that each of the gentlemen of the party, including LT. ALLEN, might have one. Such a canoe would hold one sitter, and a man in the bow and stern. I led the way, at

four o'clock on the morning after our arrival, carrying the camping apparatus, extra instruments, and a flag. On reaching the head of this lake, the Mississippi has a striking bend, and winds about. This was avoided, in part, by a portage. On reaching the river again, it soon displayed two islands. A short distance above the last, which the Indians call Tascodiac, rapids commence. The men had frequently to wade. This part of the route was tedious, and the elevation considerable, At length, when he had gone about forty miles and reached the first summit, the vista suddenly opened into a large and beautiful clear lake, with pebbly shores, and a rich foliage. This lake, which is some twelve miles long, the Indians called PA-MID-JI-GUM-AUG, or the Cross-water. It lies transversely to the path. The river merely passes through one end. It lies on a summit. This is the most northerly point of the Mississippi, and is in latitude 47°. From this the river is pursued nearly due south. Less than a mile above this lake, we entered another lake of smaller size, which I called Washington Irving's lake. About four or five miles above this, the Mississippi has its ultimate forks—the right being apparently the largest. OZAWINDIB recommended the left, which I named Plantagnet. It soon expanded at various distances, into two lakes, to which I gave the names respectively of Marquette and La Salle. Late in the day, we entered a third and comparatively large lake, known to the Indians as KUBBA-KUNNA, or the Camp in the Path.

At the head of the latter, in a dense forest of evergreens, we encamped. The next day we trailed through natural meadows, through which the river winds. It receives in this distance the Nai-wa, a tributary from the west. Soon after passing this, we came to rapids and then falls. To avoid the latter, which the party called Schoolcraft's

falls, we made a portage, from the foot of a hill of sand across an elevated peninsula of gravel and boulders, and encamped at the spot where we again struck the river. In the morning we were impeded by a fog. We were now in a region of Alpine plants. Heavy moss hung from the trees. The pines were small, and chiefly of the species of grey pine, or barkoiana, while cedar and spruce were abundant. The margin of the stream has clumps of a kind of grey willow. Pond lilies appear, and we soon entered and passed through a lake, which the Indians call As-so-wa, or Perch lake. We went but little beyond. There was an inlet into which we pushed. We soon grounded, and the guide told us to debark. We were in fact at the head of this branch, and a portage was to be made, across high grounds, to the head of the other fork, or main Mississippi.

While preparations for this were making, we partook of a meal. We had reached a dry elevation. Here the five canoes and appropriate baggage were brought, and each man assigned his load. When all was ready, Ozawindib, throwing his canoe over his shoulder, led the way. It was a most intricate and fatiguing path. Fallen logs, moss, brush, everything, in short, that could impede a traveler, occurred. We had about six miles before us. We traveled it, by what the French call *pauses*. A *pause* is a place of putting down the burden and resting. The Indians have a term of similar meaning. At one spot we walked through a pond, to avoid the thick bramble. Beyond this, we were evidently ascending. We entered on a hilly pine tract. Our old acquaintance, the pinus resinosa, soon began to appear. Our pace increased. We glided through opposing thickets with an exhileration of spirits, arising from the thought, that we were near the goal of our hopes and toils. Presently, as we reached the

brow of a ridge, the bright gleams of a lake burst on our vision. It was Itasca Lake! It lay in tranquility and beauty below us. We were soon upon its margin, and when all the party came up, we put our five small canoes into its crystal waters and embarked. Other men may have achieved other triumphs. Niagara was doubtless hailed with triumph when first seen by the French. The mouth of the Mississippi was pointed out, in pride, by NARVAEZ; and its channel by DE SOTO's party; but ours was a pleasure, heightened by the toil of reaching the actual source of a stream as celebrated as the Mississippi. It was a calm and bright day. The novelty of the scene, kept every eye upon the stretch. We saw the red deer drinking in the margin. The wild duck often flew up before us. Sometimes the French and Indians suspended their paddles to gaze. The whole party were reflected in the water. We encamped upon an island. In this passage we saw the pines in the distance crowning the enclosing hills. On the island, the shells of the tortoise, and bones of fish, were scattered about; also some bivalve fresh water shells. There were elms and cherry trees. I directed the men to cut down several trees, and to peel and plant a tall spruce in the midst, and to elevate a flag.

This was on the 13th of July, 1832—being 305 years after the discovery of its mouth by NARVAEZ, and 219 after the actual discovery of its interior channel by DE SOTO. An account of this expedition was published at New York in 1834. By this account, it is 3,106 miles from the Gulf of Mexico. Mr. J. J. NICOLLET visited this lake, four years afterwards, and took observations, by which he determined its latitude, at the island, to be 47° 13′ 35″, and its height above the ocean at 1575 feet. The accompanying sketch of it is copied from a drawing of OZAWINDIB.

Itasca lake is about five miles long; it is made up of

pure springs, gushing from the hills. We found the outlet quite a river, with a swift current. We were two days and nights in the descent of it. There is a cascade, a few miles below the lake, called Ka-bi-ka, which we ran. We found it every way, the largest branch, and about one third longer than the other, or Plantagenian fork. It receives the Pin-id-di-win, and some other tributaries. It lies in the territories of the Muk-und-wa, or Pillager Chippewas.

The Mississippi, whose origin and progress of discovery have now been examined, runs through the Minnesota Territory, dividing it into unequal parts.

Both banks are, in their greatest extent, in the occupancy of the Indian tribes. The true policy to be pursued with regard to them, is to extinguish the Indian title to such portion of it as is demanded for settlement, on just and liberal principles—to clear it of its Indian population, at the earliest possible moment; and to provide at the same time, for the removal of the tribes to a separate territory, where they may, agreeably to our system, enjoy their own laws, and advance in agriculture, arts, and education. This policy has, it is feared, been violated by the transfer of the Winnebagoes from the neutral ground, in Iowa, to the west banks of the Mississippi, between the Watab and the *Des Corbeau* rivers. They could not remain in Iowa, but they can not permanently prosper in Minnesota. This shoving of a tribe from State to State, is merely putting off the evil day. The Indian Office, which acted on this subject prior to 4th of March, 1839, was undoubtedly misled. The Chippewas sold this fine tract without ever having occupied it, except as hunting grounds. It was a portion of the wide space of country over which that widely spread tribe roved, and went to war against the Sioux. It was awarded to them in the adjustment of their boundaries, at the treaty of Prairie du Chien, in 1825; but they never

had a village upon it; the consequence was, that they readily parted with it, in 1838. But this tribe, who adhered tenaciously to their lands east of the Mississippi, and above the line of the *Des Corbeau*, could not foresee that in a very few years their enemies, the Sioux, must retire west from the whole line of the Mississippi, and give place to the white population.

There can be no doubt that this valuable tract of country so acquired, will in a few years be occupied by our people, up to the Des Corbeau or Crow Wing river. Fort Gaines which protects it, is but six miles below the latter, on the west bank. Its occupation by an Indian tribe would have been the less excusable if we could flatter ourselves that the Department had not been misled by persons who had no higher view than to bring the Winnebagoes from the neutral ground in Iowa, where they were undoubtedly deteriorating and becoming poor subjects of profitable commerce, into a new country, where they must, for a time, recruit in their affairs; where, in the mean time, they would serve as a barrier between the Sioux and Chippewas; and where at least, the expenses of *one* trading house, instead of *two*, would serve them and the Chippewas together. But how are the Winnebagoes permanently to flourish on lands where large game is scarce, where they will soon be within the jurisdiction of a State, and where they cannot permanently remain?

Allusions have been made to the war between the Sioux and Chippewas. These two warlike and leading tribes occupy nearly the entire area of Minnesota, east and west. They are hostile races, and are, in every respect, antagonistical. The one is a prairie, the other a forest tribe. The languages, and, to a great extent, the manners, and customs, are diverse. They have been at variance, time out of

mind. To keep them at peace, and to prevent our citizens from suffering the loss of life and property, in consequence of their hostilities, has been a prime object of our national policy. In this, but little can be done, without the strong arm of military power. Disturbing causes are now in operation, which must, in a few years, be severely felt. Such is the Winnebago colony—the *bois brule* question, the failure of game, but *above all*, the call for new cessions of land. The great Dakota race, barbarians in manners, and intent on hunting alone, must soon leave the banks of the Mississippi; they will if they follow the example of other Indian nations, turn and fight *first*. And the surest guarantee of preserving peace on the frontiers, will be to plant strong and efficient garrisons on the west and north-west boundaries of the country. It is essential, at all times, to watch the intercourse—to protect them from other tribes, and from settlers—and to lead them on, by just examples, to perceive the superiority of agriculture and arts, and civic laws, to the precariousness and wild mysticisms and maxims of the hunter state.

LETTER FROM PROF. W. W. MATHER, THE GEOLOGIST.*

[FROM THE "ANNALS" OF 1851.]

COLUMBUS, OHIO, Feb. 22d, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR: I received your letter informing me of my election as a member of the Minnesota Historical Society, and the accompanying pamphlet a few days since. It will give me great pleasure to aid the praiseworthy objects of your Society by any means in my power. I will send a box of minerals and rocks illustrating the principal rocks and useful minerals as connected with geology, and some of my geological reports.

In 1835 I traveled through some parts of Wisconsin and Minnesota with Mr. FEATHERSTONHAUGH, and made many interesting observations on the geology, topography, &c., of that country, the report of which has not been published. We went from Mackinaw to Green Bay, where we procured a bark canoe and a crew of voyageuas, urs, ascended the Fox river, descended the Wisconsin, ascended the Mississippi to Fort Snelling, and thence up the

* [Prof. WILLIAM WILLIAMS MATHER was born in Brooklyn, Conn, May 24, 1804. He was descended from ancestors of note in the Revolutionary and Colonial days in New England. In 1823 he entered West Point as a Cadet rn July, 1829, he was brevetted 2d Lieut in the Seventh Infantry. From 1829 to 1835 he was acting assistant Prof. of Chemistry and Mineralogy at West Point. He was appointed First Lieut. Dec. 1834 and resigned from the army Aug. 31, 1836. He was professor of Chemistry of the University of Louisiana, and Geologist of south eastern New York, from 1837 to 1844, State Geologist of Ohio, 1837, to 1840; of Kentucky, from 1838 to 1839; Prof. of Natural Sciences of the University of Ohio, 1842--1845, and in 1847 acting president of the same; He was a man of profound scientific attainments, principally as a geologist. He died at Columbus, Ohio, where he had resided several years, Feb. 26, 1859.-J. F. W.]

St. Peters to the Terra Bleu river, ascended that stream a few miles to ascertain about the copper mines of the old French traveler, LE SUEUR, found the green earth, but it contained no copper. We then descended the Terre Bleu, and ascended the St. Peters to Lac qui Parle, mostly by water; there hired horses and a horse cart for baggage, went across the prairies to Lac Travers, thence across the portage between Lac Travers, and the St. Peters, and westward, bearing a little to the north, to the Couteau de Prairie, thence south-eastward to Big Stone lake, and along the west side of that lake to its outlet; thence eastward and southward back to Lac qui Parle at Fort Renville, where Mr. WILLIAMSON and the missionary families of himself and Mr. ——— were then stationed. Mr. FEATHERSTONHAUGH thence descended by water, while I went across the prairies with the interpreter (old MILOR, as he was called) to the Travers des Sioux. Mr. SIBLEY was kind enough to let this old interpreter go with Mr. FEATHERSTONHAUGH and myself; on that tour he was very useful to us. Mr. F. overtook me at Travers des Sioux with the canoe, and we descended to Fort Snelling, where we remained till the winter snows came, and then we descended by canoe to Galena, discharged our men, and took steamboat for St. Louis. My report of that expedition contains many matters of interest in relation to geology and the topography of that region; and my topographical sketch of the meanderings of the St. Peters has been appropriated by Mr. FEATHERSTONHAUGH in his report without acknowledgement. If I can procure that report, I will place it at the disposal of the Society, if they wish it.

I have the honor to be, Your obedient servant,

W. W. MATHER.

LETTER OF MESNARD.

[WRITTEN ON THE EVE OF EMBARKATION FOR LAKE SUPERIOR.]

In August, 1654, two young men went on a vovage from the settlements of Canada, to the far Northwest. After an absence of two years, they returned with interesting accounts of the inland seas, and of the Knisteneaux and Sioux or Dakota; and reported that the distant tribes demanded "commerce with the French and missionaries for the boundless West."

In accordance with their request, two missionaries were despatched from Quebec; but not far from Montreal, the Mohawks attacked the convoy and killed one of the priests, and the project for a time was abandoned.

In the year 1659, CHARLEVOIX says that two traders passed the winter on the shores of Lake Superior. Filled with curiosity, they pushed beyond the confines of the Sioux. They saw some Dakota women with the tips of their noses cut off, and a portion of their heads scalped, and were told that this was the penalty inflicted upon adulteresses. They also learned that this nation were numerous, and roamed over a great extent of country.

In the summer of 1660, these two Frenchmen returned to Quebec with sixty canoes, manned by Algonquins and laden with furs. Their narrative again excited the zeal of the ecclesiastics, and RENE MENARD, (or MESNARD, as CHARLEVOIX and BANCROFT spell it) who had for some years been a missionary among the Iroquois in the present State of New

York, was elected as the bearer of the cross to the Lake of the Nadouessons, as it was sometimes called, or Superior.

The night before he started, the eyes of the venerable priest were never closed. He knew that he was going to a savage land, and that one of those who had been previously selected, had been murdered on the route. He thought much of his friends, and among his last acts he wrote the following letter, for a copy of which, in the original, the Society is indebted to C. WOODMAN, Esq., of Mineral Point, Wis., and for the translation to the Rev. Mr. RAVOUX, of Mendota:

"MON R. P.—PAX CHRISTI.

"Je vous escris probablement le derniere mot, due je souhaite estre le sceau de nostre amitie jusques a l'eternite *ama quem Dominus, Jesus, non dedignatur amare, quamqam maximum peccatorum; amat enim quem dignatur sua cruce:* que vostre amitie mon bon pere me soit dedaus les fruits souhaitables de vos saints sacrifices. Dans trois or quatre mois, vous pourvez me mettre au memento des morts veu le geure de vie de ces peuples, mon aage et ma petite complesion: non obstant quoy, j'ay senti de si puissans instincts, et j'ay ven eu cet affaire si peu de nature, que je n'ay peu douter qu'aiant manque a cette occasion, je n'eu dusse avoir me remords eternel. Nous avons esta me peu surpris, pour ne pouvoir pas nous poutuoir d'abits et d'autres choses; mais celuy qui nourrit les petits oiseaux, et habille les, lis des champs, aura soin de ses serviteurs; et quand il nous arriveroit de mourir de misere, ce nous seroit un grand bonheur, Je suis accable d'affairs; tout ce que je puis, c'est de recommander nostre voyage a vos saints sacrifices et vous embrasser du mesne coeur que jespere faire dans l'eternitie.

Mon R. P. vostre tres humblement,
et affectionne serviteur en Jesus Christ,
R. MENARD.

Des trois Rivieres ce 27 d'aoust a 2 heures apres minuit, 1660."

TRANSLATION.

MY REVEREND FATHER—THE PEACE OF CHRIST BE WITH YOU:

I write to you probably the last word, which I hope will be the seal of our friendship until eternity. Love whom the Lord Jesus did not disdain to love, though the greatest of sinners, for he loves whom he loads with

his cross. Let your friendship, my good father, be useful to me by the desirable fruits of your daily sacrifice. In three or four months, you may remember me at the memento for the dead, on account of my old age, my weak constitution, and the hardships I lay under amongst these tribes. Nevertheless, I am in peace, for I have not been led to this mission by any temporal motive, but I think it was by the voice of God. I was afraid, by not coming here, to resist the grace of God. Eternal remorse would have tormented me, had I not come, when I had the opportunity. We have been a little surprised, not being able to provide ourselves with vestments and other things; but he who feeds the little birds and clothes the lilies of the fields, will take care of his servants; and though it should happen we should die with want, we would esteem ourselves happy. I am loaded with affairs. What I can do is to recommend our journey to your daily sacrifices, and to embrace you with the same sentiments of heart, as I hope to do in eternity.

My reverend father, your most humble
and affectionate servant in Jesus Christ,

R. MENARD.

From the Three Rivers, this 27th August }
2 o'clock after midnight, 1660. }

This letter is touching in its simplicity, and could hardly have been written by one who had not been filled with the spirit of JESUS. As soon as a Christian people begin to dwell upon the shores of Lake Superior, it will be embalmed in their literature, and read and admired by those whose tastes are refined. His anticipations were realized, and in a few months he was added "to the memento of deaths." Immediately after he penned the letter, he started, with a band of Ottawas, for Lake Superior. During his journey he was exposed to the ridicule of his wild companions, and obliged to subsist on the coarsest Indian fare.

On the 15th of October, he reached a bay which he named Saint Theresa, and is supposed to have been the bay of Keweena. After a residence of eight months, amid piles of ice and snow, and with his life in his hands, he accepted the invitation of some Hurons, according to CHARLEVOIX, and

proceeded to their island home at La Pointe, called by them Chegoimegon (by MESNARD, St. Michael) in spite of the remonstrances of the French traders, accompanied by a faithful man, named JOHN GUERIN, who had been in the service of the missionaries for many years.

On the 20th of August, 1661, he was obliged to walk some distance to avoid rapids; and while his old servant was occupied in making a portage with the canoe, he entered the woods and was lost.

GUERIN, in much distress, called for him at the top of his voice, discharged his gun, and made several turns through the forest, but MESNARD made not his appearance.

A century ago, the report was current at Montreal, that some years after he disappeared in the wood, (as is supposed near Keweena portage) his cassock and prayer-book were found in a Dakota lodge, and were looked upon as "wakan" or supernatural.

To this day, it is unknown whether the aged man perished from starvation and exposure, or by violence from the savages. But there appears to be the well-grounded hope, that the "Providence which feeds the little birds of the desert, and clothes the wild flowers of the forests," became his shepherd, and that when he came to die, he was enabled to dwell with profit on the following sentences of his well-thumbed breviary:

"The Lord is my Shepherd; I shall not want. He maketh me to lie down iu green pastures; he leadeth me beside the still waters. Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of Death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me."

ST. PAUL, 1852. N .

ST. LOUIS RIVER.

BY REV. T. M. FULLERTON.

The head of Lake Superior is about five miles wide, the shore forming nearly a regular semi-circle. The St. Louis river enters the lake near the middle of this bend. The entrance from the lake is about west, forty or fifty rods, when the river bends suddenly to the north, keeping its course parallel with the lake shore about half a mile, when the course is again changed to the southwest. Here the river widens out into a bay about six miles long, and in places two miles wide; having several small islands in it. The bend of the river, near the mouth, forms a peninsula between its north bank and the lake, about a mile long, and averaging about a quarter of a mile in width. It is a body of sand, producing only some small evergreen underbrush, and a beautiful grove of tall, straight, limbless yellow pines. On the south side of the river, there is a tract of several hundred acres of low land, a portion of which is similar to that on the north side, but much of it is swampy. The American Fur Company, previous to 1840, had a trading post here, about half a mile from the lake, but it was subsequently removed to Fond du Lac, at the foot of the falls.

The river, at its mouth, is less than a quarter of a mile wide, and obstructed by a sand bar, holding countless snags; but on passing this a few rods, brings the boat beyond the bend, into calm, deep water, in any weather. At the head of the bay, the traveler is in want of a pilot. From that point to the falls, the river is full of islands and fields of

wild rice, around and through which, there are numerous channels. The inexperienced may row several miles, and find himself at the head of a bay or cove, and be under the necessity of returning to seek the true channel. From the lake to the falls, called twenty miles, the northern shore is bold and rugged, except in a few places where it falls back, forming a small plat of table land between it and the river or gives vent to a small mountain stream. The bluffs, on the south side, are similar to those on the north for several miles below the falls; they there disappear. The Fonk du-Lac river, from the southwest, enters the lake about two miles south of the outlet of the St. Louis, and the valleys of the two rivers are merged in one some six or seven miles from the lake.

A few rods below the falls, a creek of pure, never-failing water from the north, forms a junction with the river. The west side of the valley, formed by this creek, is occupied by the American Fur Company, and the east by the missionary establishment of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The whole valley does not afford above eighty acres of arable land.

The general face of the country around Fon du Lac, is mountainous. On the river, and small streams, there are a few acres of good soil in places, but most of the low lands are impenetrable white cedar swamps. Back of these there is usually a plat of table land, covered with hard maple, birch, basswood and other timbers indigenous to river bottoms in the southwestern States, together with here and there very large white pines. Still farther back, mountains tower up towards Heaven. The soil on some of these is good, but most of them are marshy. White pine and birch are the predominating timbers on the mountains. Large boulders are numerous, as well on these mountains as on the table lands and river bottoms

About three miles north of Fond du Lac, a peak of one of the mountains towers far above all others. The only ascent, is on the north side, and is tolerably easy for a footman. The south side is a perpendicular rock of several hundred feet in height. The summit is a level bare rock. The stone, forming this peak, is unlike any thing else seen in the country. It is of a dark grey color, and so close in texture, that the united strength of myself and interpreter, could not break a piece of it by hurling it against the mass on which we stood. The beholder can scarcely resist the impression, that he stands on a pyramid in the midst of an immense basin, whose outer rim is the limit of human vision. Lake Superior, though twenty miles distant, appears as if lying at his feet, and stretching itself away to the east, until sight loses it in the distance ; and the river, with its islands, channels, and rice fields, is all in full view, from the falls to its mouth. The writer has never seen another spot where such a comprehensive view of the vastness of creation could be obtained.

The falls of St. Louis river, are nothing more than a succession of rapids for the distance of about fifteen miles, except at the head of "Knife Portage." At that point, the water falls about ten feet perpendicularly. Above that point, to the mouth of Savannah river, eighty miles from the lake, there are few banks seen in high water. The bottoms are several miles wide, in places, indeed, most of the way, and often overflown. But from Fond du Lac, to the above named falls, the water rushes through a narrow gorge, the banks in several places, being from fifty to one hundred feet high, and always crumbling in. In several places within two miles of Fond du Lac, they are composed of shale, sand, and boulders ; the slaty shale lying in regular stratum, dipping several degrees westward on the south side, and equally eastward on the north side. Just above these banks, on the

north side of the river, an acre or more of trap rock mixed with copper, precisely like that below La Pointe, is exposed to view in low water. It has the appearance of having once been covered with a bank similar to those above described, which has washed away; and it was the opinion of the writer, that the same formation might be found under many of the hills around the falls. Up the creek before mentioned, a mile from the river, the same mixture of shale and sand may be seen in many places. The Indians considered this metallic substance in the trap rock, valuable, and in the treaty made at La Pointe, in 1842, they reserved this spot, stipulating that the trader's store, one mile below, should be the corner of that cession. The head chief often told the writer, that he expected to take out a great amount of wealth from the river, at that spot, as soon as he could get the means.

The first portage on these falls, is about eight miles long, on the north side of the river. It is over a very rough country, through several very swampy places, and is generally impracticable for horses, or anything that cannot walk a pole. At the head of this portage, canoes are used again for two miles, and there the "Knife Portage" is made on the south side of the river, three miles, to the grand falls, above alluded to. In high water, both of these portages are longer. On both sides of the river at the Knife Portage, much of the surface of the ground is covered with masses of slate, equal to any hone for edged tools. They have the appearance of being thrown up by some internal revolution, there being nothing like order or regularity in their position, and the intervening ground being even.

Europeans who have seen this slate, allege that it is equal to that used in England for tiling. The supply, even on the surface of the ground, is inexhaustible.

There can scarcely be a limit to the amount of fish, pick-

erel chiefly, that may be taken on the rapids during about three weeks of the spring. In the spring of 1843, the writer often saw a two-fathom canoe filled in one hour in the morning, by two men, one steering and the other using a dip-net. Both work the canoe up the rapids sufficiently far, when one stands in the bow with the net, while the other backs the canoe with his might, in addition to the rapidity of the current. From twenty to fifty large fishes are frequently thus taken in passing about twenty rods of the rapids.

ANCIENT MOUNDS AND MONUMENTS.

IOWA INDIANS AND MOUNDS; BY REV. G. H. POND.

TAKOHA, the old war prophet, says that the Iowa Indian never occupied the country around the mouth of the Minnesota River. He affirms that it once belonged to the Winnebagoes, who were long ago driven from it by the Dakotas—a few others of the Dakotas agree with TAKOHA. But BLACK TOMAHAWK, who is by some of the most intelligent half-breeds, considered the best Mdewakantonwan traditionist, says, that in the earliest years of the existence of the Dakotas, they became acquainted with the Iowa Indians, and that they lived in a village at the place which is now called Oak Grove, seven or eight miles from Fort Snelling, on the north side of the Minnesota river. The numerous little mounds which are to be seen about Oak Grove, he says, are the works of the Iowa Indians.

The old man says, that in ancient times, when the Dakotas had no arms but the bow and stone or horn headed arrows, and used knives and axes manufactured from the same materials, these little mounds which we now see at the place above named, were the dwellings of the Iowas. They were the enemies of the Dakotas, who used occasionally to make a war-path from Mille Lac, where they then resided, down to the Iowa village, and carry off with them scalps, which made glad the hearts of their wives and daughters. The strife between the two nations eventually became desperate, and the gods, who are always deeply interested in Indian wars, espoused the cause of the Dakotas.

The thunder, which the Dakotas believe to be a winged monster, and which in character seems to answer very well to the MARS of the ancient heathen, bore down upon the Iowa village in a most terrible and god-like manner. Tempests howled, the forked lightnings flashed, and the thunders uttered their voices; the earth trembled; a thunder-bolt was hurled at the devoted village, which ploughed the earth, and formed that deep ravine near the present dwelling of PETER QUINN. This occurrence unnerved the Iowas, and the Dakotas, taking advantage of it, fell upon their enemies and drove them across the Minnesota river, and burned up their village.

The Iowas then built another village on the south side of the river, near the present planting grounds of GREY IRON, where they remained till the Dakotas obtained fire-arms, when they fought their last battle with them in Minnesota, on Pilot Knob, back of Mendota. The Iowas who escaped on this occasion fled, and erected their next village at the mouth of the Iowa river, from which they were again eventually driven by the Dakotas, towards the Missouri. The old man from whom we gather the substance of what has gone before, says that these mounds are the remains of the dwelling houses of the ancient Iowas. Some say that they are not the remains of the dwellings of the Iowas, but those of some other people with whom tradition does not acquaint them; and others, still say that they are ancient burial places.

The following two or three facts may not be without interest to the reader. Some six years since, Mr. QUINN, of Oak Grove, removed the earth of one of these mounds, at the same place where BLACK TOMAHAWK says the ancient Iowa village stood. As the earth was removed, on a level with the natural surrounding surface, charred poles and human bones were found. It was easy and natural for the im-

agination to supply the rest, and make the fact corroborate the tradition of the old man, when he says that the Iowas constructed their houses by leaning poles together at the top, and spreading them at the foot, forming a circular frame, which they covered with earth. In one of these houses a man or woman had been killed, and the timbers of the house fired, which of course, would let the earth fall in upon the dead body and burning poles. At a subsequent period, when the son of BLACK TOMAHAWK was killed by a Chippewa, who was one of the little *peace-party* of HOLE-IN-THE DAY, *Sen.*, the Indians opened another of these mounds, near Mr. QUINN'S door, to inter the dead body. SMOKY-DAY affirms, that on that occasion they discovered "many human skull bones and sets of teeth, carefully placed in a row." This seems to corroborate the other story of tradition, that these mounds were the burial places of early tribes. The earth of a third mound was lately removed, and nothing of the kind discovered. SMOKY-DAY informs me, that at Lake Traverse, a Dakota once, who was ambitious to be inspired by the gods, caused a hole to be opened in the centre of one of these mounds, in doing which quite a number of human bones were thrown up. It is the common practice of the Dakotas, who desire to be *waka'n*, or inspired by the supernatural powers, to stretch themselves on the ground in some solitary place, and there remain till the gods draw near with their communications which I believe generally occurs in the darkness of the night. On the above occasion, the "dreamer," for they call it dreaming, placed himself in the centre of the mound, in the midst of the human bones. When the stillness of night brooded over his dreaming place the spirits, whose bones he had disturbed, hovered around and treated him so rudely, that in his fright he fled for his life, and remained an uninspired man.

STONE HEAPS AT RED WING.

To Rev. E. D. Neill, St. Paul, M. T.:

DEAR SIR:—Your letter of the third instant, relating to the stone heaps near Red Wing, was duly received.

I am happy to comply with your request, hoping that it may lead to an accurate survey of these mounds.

In 1848 I first heard of stone heaps, on the hill tops, back from Red Wing. But business, and the natural suspicion of the Indian, prevented me from exploring. The treaty of Mendota emboldened me to visit the hills, and try to find the stone heaps. Accordingly, late last autumn, I started on foot and alone from Red Wing, following the path marked P on the map, which I herewith transmit. I left the path after crossing the second stream, and turning to the left, I ascended the first hill that I reached. This is about a mile distant from the path that leads from Fort Snelling to Lake Pepin. There, on the brow of the hill, which was about 200 feet high, was a heap of stones. It is about twelve feet in diameter and six in height. The perfect confusion of the stones, and yet the entireness of the heap, and the denuded rocks all around, convinced me that the heap had been formed from stones lying around, picked up by the hand of man.

But *why*, and *when* it had been done were questions not so easily decided. For solving these, I resolved to seek internal evidence. Prompted by the spirit of a first explorer, I soon ascended the heap; and the coldness of the day, and the proximity of my gun, tended to suppress my dread of rattlesnakes. The stones were such that I could lift or roll them, and I soon reached a stick about two feet from the top of the heap. After descending about a foot farther I pulled the post out: and about the same place found a shank bone, about five inches long. The post was red cedar, half de-

cayed, *i.* e. one side, and rotted to a point in the ground; hence I could not tell whether it grew there or not. The bone is similar to the two which you have. I left it and the post on the heap, hoping that some one better skilled in osteology might visit the heap. The stones of the heap are magnesian limestone, which forms the upper stratum of the hills about Red Wing.

Much pleased, I started south over the hill top, and was soon greeted by another silent monument of art. This heap is marked B on the map. It is similar to the first which is marked A, only it is larger, and was so covered with a vine that I had no success in opening it. From this point there is a fine view southward. The valleys and hills are delightful. Such hills and vales, such cairns and bushy glens, would, in my father's land, have been the thrones, and play grounds of fairies. But I must stick to facts. I now started eastward to visit a conical appearing hill, distant about a mile and a half. I easily descended the hill, but to cross the plain and ascend another hill, "*hic labor est.*" But I was amply repaid. The hill proved to be a ridge, with several stone heaps on the summit. Near one heap there is a beautiful little tree, with a top like "TAM O'SHANTER'S" bonnet. In these heaps I found the bones which I left with you. I discovered each about half way down the heaps.

I then descended northward about 200 feet, crossed a valley, past some earth mounds, and ascended another hill, and there found several more stone heaps similar to the others. In them I found no bones, nor did I see anything else worthy of particular notice at present.

If these few facts should, in any measure, help to preserve correct information concerning any part of this new country, I shall be amply rewarded for writing.

Your obedient servant,

J. F. AITON.

KAPOSIA, *Jan.* 17, 1852.

MOUNDS OF MINNESOTA VALLEY; BY REV. S. R. RIGGS.

In the Minnesota valley mounds are numerous. They may properly be divided into: 1st. Natural elevations, *pahas* or *pazhodans*, as the Dakotas call them. 2d. Such as are partly natural and partly artificial; and 3d. Elevations which have been formed by certain processes. *Pahas* or *Pazhodans* are found scattered over the prairies, some of the more prominent of which may be seen from a great distance. Such is Heyokatee, *the house of* HEYOKA, * situated near the Mayawakan or Chippewa river, some ten miles or more above its junction with the Minnesota. This natural elevation appears at some distance to the right of the road, as one comes from Black Oak Lake to Lac-qui-Parle. But even this is hardly to be compared with the "pahawakan" or *sacred hills*, in the valley of the James' river, which are more than one hundred feet high, and can be distinctly seen from the farther border of the Coteau des Prairies, a distance of about forty miles. In passing from one point to another on the prairie, the *pahas* are very serviceable as guides to the traveler.

These natural elevations, where they are found near Indian villages, have been used as burial places. Among the Dakotas, the native way of disposing of the dead is that of placing them on scaffolds. A *paha* or conspicuous point is preferred as the place of erecting such scaffold, that it may be seen from a distance. At the present time, burial soon after death is practiced to a considerable extent by the Dakotas of the Minnesota Valley, including those still on the

* HEYOKA is the *anti-natural god* of the Dakotas—represented by an old man wearing a cocked hat, with a quiver on his back and a bow in his hand. In the winter, it is said he goes naked and loves the northern blasts; while in summer, he wraps his buffalo robe around him and is still suffering from cold.

Mississippi ; and where they still prefer to place upon scaffolds at first, they not unfrequently bury in the course of a few months. But their graves are so shallow that, to cover the dead sufficiently, they are often obliged to carry up earth ; and it is probable that formerly they carried up more than they do at present. To prevent the body from being dug up by wolves, they generally enclose the grave by setting up around, in a cone-like form, billets of wood. The decomposition of the bodies, and the rotting of the palisades and scaffolds, enrich the ground and cause a more luxuriant growth of vegetation, which, of itself, directly tends to add to the size of the mound. Then this rank vegetation forms a nucleus for drift. Then, the grass and dust which the wind blows over the prairie, lodge and make the elevation still greater. On the hill, a short distance east of the ruins of Fort Renville, to the north west and in sight of the mission houses at Lac-qui-Parle, there is a *paha* of this kind, in which, in years gone by, many persons have been buried. It now presents on the top a very irregular surface, partly owing to the interments thus made, and partly to the burrowing of the gophers in it. On the south west side of the Minnesota, a short distance back from the Wahpetonwan village, there is another mound which has been long used as a burying place. Similar ones may be found near all Dakota villages.

If the question be asked: Why do the Dakotas prefer these mounds as the places of deposit for their dead? I answer: *First*, as before suggested, that the place may be seen from a distance all around. As they wail morning and evening they can conveniently look to the abode, not only of the body of their departed friend, but as many of them believe, of one of the spirits also. *Secondly*, all *pahas* are under the guardianship of their god HEYOKA.

And thirdly, a hill may be regarded as a more congenial place of rest for a spirit than a valley; and thence, too, the earthly spirit may the better hold communion with the one which has gone to the east along the "iron road," or is above making progress on the "wanagi tachanku," (the via lactea) or *spirit's road.*

The third species of elevations which I shall notice, have the form of embankments rather than mounds. They are artificial, found usually in the river bottoms or low planting lands, and formed by carrying out, spring after spring, the corn roots and other trash from off the field, and piling them along the outer edge or on the row between two field. sIn many instances of patches that had been planted for ten or twenty years previous to the introduction of the plough, I have seen these embankments from two to three feet high, and of all conceivable shapes; some rhomboidal, some hexagonal, some oval. I remember having noticed them first, many years ago, in the old plantings at LITTLE SIX'S village, where I presume they may still be traced, as I am not aware that these old fields (which were on the opposite side of the river and about two miles below the site of the present village,) have ever been ploughed. The thought has occurred to me that, perhaps, some of what have been regarded as Indian fortifications in other parts of the country may have had a similar origin.

In connection with these remarks on mounds, it is proper to give some description of a very interesting excavation and fortification which is found a few miles above the mouth of the *Pa-zhe-hu-ta-ze* or Yellow Medicine river. It is on the south side of the Minnesota, and within sight of the mission station lately commenced by Dr. WILLIAMSON. About the first of November, with my friend Dr. W., I visited this memorial of another race. The excavation extends around three sides of a somewhat irregular square, the fourth being

protected by the slope of the hill, which is now covered with timber. After the filling up of years, or perhaps centuries, the ditch is still about three feet deep. We found the east side, in the middle of the ditch, to measure thirty eight paces, the south side, sixty-two, and the west side, fifty. The north side is considerably longer than the south. The area enclosed is not far from half an acre. On each of the three excavated sides there was left a gateway of about two paces. The earth was evidently thrown up on both sides; but the embankments have now almost entirely disappeared in the level of the prairie. Within the enclosure there are numerous very slight elevations, which seem to mark the places occupied by the dwellings of those who were once entrenched here. It would be interesting to know what were the form and character of those houses; but all we can learn from the present appearance of things is that they were drobably partly made of earth.

This is by far the largest and most interesting fortification that I have seen in the Valley of the Minnesota. How long ago was this ditch dug, and by whom? It evidently bears the marks of some antiquity; and it was not probably made by the Dakotas, as it must date many years beyond their occupancy of this country. Some band of Indians, perhaps a little in advance of the Dakotas in civilization, here entrenched themselves against the attacks of their enemies. As we stood within the enclosure and contemplated the work, we naturally asked the question: Who did this? And from the deep silence of antiquity the only answer we received was, WHO.

Lac-qui-Parle.

SCHOOLCRAFT'S EXPLORING TOUR OF 1832.

BY REV. W. T. BOUTWELL.

[Mr. B., by a kind invitation from Mr. SCHOOLCRAFT, accompanied the U. S. Exploring Expedition to Itasca Lake in 1832. See page 125. The party arrived by the way of Lake Superior, at La Pointe, on the 20th of June. For a history of the tour, the reader is referred to the following extracts from Mr. BOUTWELL's journal.]

JUNE 20. From the Sault to this place we have been thirteen days, but ten, however of travel. One day we lay wind-bound and the two Sabbaths we rested in obedience to the divine command. In honoring God, we feel that he has prospered us on our way. The distance from the Sault to this place, by my estimate, is about 410 miles. Some of the traders make it 456. To measure distance with any degree of accuracy in this country is a matter of much difficulty; especially if the person is but little accustomed to this mode of travelling.

JUNE 21. It is a real New England summer's day. Have just taken a walk with brother HALL over the farm of Mr. W., the trader of this post. He has from thirty to forty acres under improvement on the island. Mr. CADOTTE about two-thirds as much. The oats, barley, peas, and potatoes look well and afford the promise of a good crop. For the first time Mr. W., has planted a small piece of corn for an experiment. It appears unpromising. I think, however, the soil, which is a mixture of red clay and sand, if well manured, can be made to produce corn. The grass is suffering much for the want of rain. With industry and economy I am satisfied that most, if not all the vegetables, necessary

for the support of a family, can be raised here. Much land of a quality inferior to this, is cultivated in New England.

ASCENT OF THE ST. LOUIS RIVER.

JUNE 25. To begin this portage, which is nine miles, we are obliged to ascend a bluff sixty or seventy feet, in an angle of at least forty-five degrees. Up this steep all our baggage and the lading of two barges must be carried on the heads or backs of the men. I say heads, from the fact that a voyageur [boatman] always rests his portage collar on the head. A portage is always divided off into *poses*, or resting places, which vary in length according to the quality of the road or path, but average about half a mile. Our supplies of pork and flour are put into a shape convenient for this kind of transportation. A keg of pork, seventy pounds, and a bag of flour, eighty pounds, is considered a load; or in the dialect of the country, a *piece*, for a voyageur, both of which he takes on his back at once and ascends this bluff. This is new business for the soldiers, who are obliged to carry their own baggage and provisions. The first attempt they made to ascend with their keg of pork and bag of flour, almost every one was unsuccessful. It was not merely a matter of amusement to look at the pork-kegs, flour-bags, knapsacks, baggage, and men which strewed the foot of the ascent, but such as to awaken pity and prompt a helping hand. I undertook to aid one by steadying the bag of flour upon the keg of pork. But we had not proceeded far, when in spite of me, off came the flour, and rolled to the bottom of the bluff. We then both of us undertook to manage the keg, which, not without much difficulty, we succeeded in getting to the top of the bluff. We have made three poses, (a mile and a half,) and here we are overtaken by night.

JUNE 26. At four this morning our men began their day's work. A heavy shower during the day has rendered the

path very bad and retarded us somewhat. Our way to-day has been over hills, across deep ravines, and some of the way through mud and water half leg deep. But notwithstanding the rain and badness of the path, the voyageurs are cheerful and prompt at their task. They carry their load half a mile, when it is thrown down and they return for another. Some of the men, to-day, have taken three bags, 240 pounds, the whole supported by a strap across the temples, the ends of which are made fast around the bags. Some of the Indian women, several of whom are assisting on the portage, have taken each a bag of flour, a trunk, and soldier's knapsack on her back, and waded through mud and water where I would not drive a dumb beast. But more, not unfrequently the Indian cradle is placed on the top of all, the hoop of which defends the child's head, projecting so high as to catch every bush, now dripping with rain, and shake it full into the child's face. As the mother cannot well leave the nursing child, it must ride both ways, so that she has not the relief of a voyageur, who takes breath in returning back for another load.

JUNE 27. Struck our tent and renewed our march this morning at six. One of the soldiers who is disabled, a Catholic, a very profane man, saw me reading a tract, and came and asked me for one. It was but yesterday I gave him a gentle reproof.

Several families keep along in company with us, who are on their way to their summer hunting ground. The woman is often seen with all the materials on her back which makes the Indian's house, and the articles which furnish it, such as kettles, wooden-ladles, drum, traps, and axes; and on the top of all the Indian cradle, in which is bound her nursing child; while the Indian is seldom seen with more than his pipe, tobacco-sack, and musket.

About one o'clock, to-day, we reached the end of the por-

tage. The weather is very warm, and all our men and the Indians are much worn with fatigue.

Mr. S. here distributed presents to the Indians, most of whom have aided us in carrying. They all seem highly gratified with what they receive, and wholly to have forgotten the mud and water through which they have waded. Nor are the squaws neglected. After the presents were distributed, provisions were issued. The flour and meal they take, as usual, in one corner of their blanket, or a horribly dirty old cloth, which has served the place of a shirt, without ever seeing a drop of water or a bit of soap. But after all there is not so great a difference between these Indians and our voyageurs as one might suppose, for they often receive their ration of flour in their pocket-handkerchief or hat.

JUNE 28. This evening finds us at the foot of Grand Rapids. In reaching this place we ascended several strong rapids, where it required not merely all the strength, but all the skill of the men. Not unfrequently are they obliged to spring from the canoe into the water, in the midst of a rapid, and draw it up by hand. This is the case when the bottom is rocky and the stream shallow, which at the same time lightens the canoe in passing over the rocks. Nor is it rare for the water to dash over the bow and sides, in which case some one is sure of getting wet. No one can form an idea of the difficulty of ascending this stream, until he has made a trial of it. The scenery of to-day has been delightful. The maple, iron-wood, cedar, elm, and oak grow here in perfection.

The musquitoes here are extremely voracious, and oblige a man constantly to fight for life. Put ashore at nine this morning, and breakfasted in their midst. Continued to ascend rapid after rapid till afternoon, when we reached what may be called the low-lands, where we found compara-

tively smooth water, and sufficiently deep for a steamboat. The banks here are moderately elevated; an alluvial deposit, covered with rank grass and a thrifty growth of maple, ash, elm, bass-wood, with some spruce, pine, and cedar.

An old Indian, in company with us, passing a large stone raising out of the middle of the river, left his offering of tobacco to the *menito*, or spirit. This evening we reached the mouth of the Savanna river, a stream emptying into the St. Louis. It is deep, but narrow and winding in its course, with low banks covered with wild grass. Ducks were abundant.

JUNE 30. Reached the *Savanna*, from which the stream takes its name, a tract of low, marshy ground, overgrown with rushes, flags, and small clumps of bushes, the very nestling places of mosquitoes. At noon we reached the Savanna portage. The portage path was filled with mud and water, through which the canoes were drawn by men wading to their middle.

JULY 1. Sabbath. We have most of the day been obliged to house ourselves as well as we could. The rain, which has a part of the day fallen in torrents, and the mosquitoes, have rendered it impracticable for us to have divine service. It has been such a Sabbath as I never before witnessed. At one moment our men were singing some Indian hymn; the next a song or dancing tune; the next moment an Indian would begin to thump his drum and sing, that he might make his part of the noise, and render the scene of confusion more perfect. It was no small relief to me, that Mr. S. and myself, who occupied the same tent, could have prayers and spend the day in reading the Scriptures and other books which we had taken with us.

JULY 2. The heavy rains of Saturday night and Sabbath, have rendered the portage almost impassable. The mud, for the greater part of the way, will average ancle

deep, and from that upwards; in some places it is a perfect quagmire. Our men are covered with mud from head to foot. Some have lost one leg of their pantaloons, others both. Their shirts and moccasins are all of a piece, full of rents and mud. Mangled feet, and bruised backs and legs, were brought forward this evening to the doctor. While I write, his tent door is thronged with the lame and halt.—Every one carries some mark of the Savanna portage.

JULY 3. At eleven, A. M., we embarked in what is called the western Savanna river. The stream here is barely wide and deep enough to swim our canoes. Its course, like the former, is exceedingly winding. Its banks are covered with a most luxuriant growth of wild grass, principally blue-joint, which rots on the ground. The prairie is bounded on each side by small ridges mostly of red pine. At four P. M., reached Sandy Lake, which has been estimated by some to be about twenty-five miles in circumference. It is very irregular in shape, embracing many islands and bays. It may be seven or eight miles across it, from the mouth of Savanna river to its winding outlet, which communicates with the Mississippi. Leaving the lake, we had not proceeded far, when my attention was arrested by something on the left bank, which to me was both strange and new.—I looked repeatedly, but unable to satisfy myself, asked what it was. To which Mr. S. replied, that they were coffins, and that that was the manner in which these Indians often bury their dead. Four posts are set in the ground from seven to nine feet high, by means of which a sort of scaffold is raised, and upon that, in the open air, the coffin is placed. Arriving at the trading post, we were welcomed by the discharge of muskets, and the hoisting of the American flag, by the few Indians that remain. This post is about 750 miles from Mackinaw, and 140 from Fond du Lac.

Corn, for this post, is mostly obtained at Red lake, from

the Indians, who there cultivate it to considerable extent. Mr. R. tells me he brought 105 bushels from that place this spring; and that it is not a rare matter to meet a squaw, who has even this quantity to sell. Most of the land, in the vicinity of the post, is either low and subject to inundation, or sandy, and of comparatively little value for cultivation. Small plats of ground, however, may be selected here and there, which are good.

In going over Mr. A.'s premises this morning, among other things, I visited the Indian burying-place. This is on a rise of ground, some thirty or forty rods north of the fort. The cross, a piece of board, or a round post three feet above ground, striped with vermillion, marks the place of the dead. Some of the graves are enclosed by logs, raised a few feet and covered with cedar bark, in the form of a roof, so as to turn the water. Others are guarded by low pickets, while others are exposed to the tread of man and beast. Here lies a chief who deceased about twenty days since, not as others, under ground, but raised some eight or ten feet in the air. Four posts, stained with vermillion, support the scaffold, upon which the coffin, covered with birch bark, is placed. The American flag, which was presented to him as one of the insignia of his chieftainship, is planted at his head, there to flit in the wind till it is gone. In one of Mr. A.'s inclosures lie the remains of another chief, raised in the same manner above ground. This chief deceased some years since, and in the mean time, I am informed, the scaffold has once or twice decayéd and fallen, but been again erected.

Here we embark on the Mississippi, which Lieut. A. ascertains, by actual measurement, to be 110 yards and one-third in width at this place.

SOURCES OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

JULY 5. The Mississippi here is deep, its banks low and covered with a luxuriant growth of elm, maple, ash, and cedar. For much of the distance its banks are alluvial, a rich deposit from the bed of the stream. Its course here is east or southeast. Passed Swan river this evening, sixty miles from Sandy lake. We have marched from four o'clock this morning, till half past eight this evening; and for these sixteen hours and a half, I have not been out of the canoe but once, save for breakfast. The day has passed heavily. Comfort is a term to which man is a stranger while on such a tour. But he knows full well what fatigue, heat, rain, and mosquitoes are.

JULY 7. At 10 A. M., reached the *Pokegema Falls.*— Wild rice first appeared just below this place. The current in some parts of the river is considerable, in others there are rapids. In ascending the rapids a short distance below these falls, our canoe was twice carried down the stream, paddles and poles nothwithstanding. Happily, however, for us all, it was kept right side up. The river branches above the head of these falls and comes into the main stream again just below them, forming a small island. The whole width of the falls, I should judge, to be about twenty yards, and the whole descent abont fifteen feet. We make a short portage here, perhaps two hundred and fifty yards. At twelve o'clock we left these falls, which are one hundred and fifty miles above Sandy lake; and upon embarking again, we entered the Savanna, the end of which I almost despair of ever seeing. The Mississippi here is more serpentine than can easily be imagined. Its borders are lined with wild rice, sedge, and Indian rush. The white lilly also is found here. The change in the atmosphere since yesterday, is great, from the torrid; I should think we had entered the frigid zone, and I am obliged to resort to my cloak.

JULY 8. Sabbath. Read a hymn, and portions of scripture to a few Indians who accompany us, to which they all listened attentively. I also presented a little tract to one of them, from which I read. He thanked me, and soon after, to make me some return, came with some *Pakusigon*, the leaves of a running vine, which they dry and smoke. At four, P. M., collected the Indians and Frenchmen, and read, sung and prayed with them. A shower of rain interrupted me while addressing them.

EVENING. A man has just arrived from Leech lake, who informs us of the return of the Pillagers from their war excursion. They met a war party of the Sioux, and both commenced the work of death. The Ojibwas lost one man, and killed three Sioux, whose scalps they brought home with rejoicing. The same person also informs us, that a party of Sioux came to the trading post at Pembina, where they scalped a child and fled. The Ojibwas pursued, overtook, and revenged themselves, by killing four of the party, Oh, how long ere these tribes shall learn war no more! It is now "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth."

JULY 9. About ten this morning, reached *Point au Chene*; soon after passing which, we left the Mississippi and entered a tributary, which takes us into a small lake ten miles in length. Leaving this we entered another stream, and came to another small lake; from this, entered another stream and came to a third lake, from which we made a short portage across a beautiful ridge of yellow pine. Here we embarked in the small Winnepeg lake, two miles in width and four in length. Crossing this from east to west, we entered the Mississippi again, and in about two hours reached large Winnipeg lake. This is a beautiful body of water, stretching from east to west fifteen or twenty miles. Here the aspect of the country again assumes a different and a

pleasing character. The eastern shore is covered with a luxuriant growth of oak and maple. The trading-post is located on the north-eastern shore, near the mouth of a considerable stream which empties into the lake. The land immediately about the post, is for the most part low, but of a good quality. The corn, peas, potatoes and squashes, all look well, also a small yard of tobacco. The soil is cultivated with ease. Dogs in this country, with the Canadian French, supply the place of oxen and horses, neither of which are possessed by the trader here. His house is made of logs, and in the manner of the country, ceiled with mud. The windows are made of deer skins in their natural state, save that the hair is taken off. These when well oiled, admit sufficient light for all the purposes of the household work which is done here. The few Indians present at the post, requested permission to dance this evening, as they wished for some tobacco. Two men and a few boys, with their muskets in hand, performed, while two others sang and drummed, one on a paddle-handle for the want of another drum. It was so dark that I could not well examine their ornaments, save that one had a polecat's tail hung on each side, and a head-dress falling behind, covering nearly all his otherwise naked back. They were much animated when the tobacco was thrown into their midst, each raising the yell at the same time, and clapping the mouth with the hand.

UPPER RED CEDAR LAKE.

JULY 10. Reached Upper Red Cedar, or Cassina lake. This latter name it receives from Governor CASS, who visited it in 1820. Two branches of the Mississippi enter into this lake. The Indians residing here, being aware of our approach, came to meet us, firing salutes of musketry. Their summer village, they informed us, was on an island about ten miles distant.

As we approached this island from the northeast, which overlooks the lake by a high bluff, rising some sixty or more feet above the water, almost the first object that caught my eye, was a fine field of corn, potatoes, and squashes, growing luxuriantly. The next I knew was a discharge of muskets from amid the standing corn. We were directed to make the west side of the island, where we should find a good landing, and a place for encampment. In the mean time, one continual hooting, yelling, and firing was kept up behind the bushes which lined the shore. On disembarking, I found a musket in the hand of almost every little Indian boy, many of whom following the example of their fathers, came forward and took us by the hand. All bid us welcome, and seemed overjoyed that their father has come to see his children.

EVENING. While our canoes were unlading, tent erecting, &c., I took a walk to see the field of corn in the northern extremity of the island, which we passed. But ere I had reached it, I passed no less than two or three other little fields, all of which remind me of New England, where I never saw better corn, squashes, or potatoes, than I find here with Indian culture. The growth of wood and timber on this part of the island, is entirely destroyed, save here and there a large oak or maple. All the high land is covered with rank grass and sumach, except the plats here and there under cultivation.

The soil is easy to work with a hoe, the only tool with which the squaw makes her garden. I say *squaw*, from the fact that she always makes the garden, inasmuch as the Indian deems it degrading to himself to use the hoe or axe. I next visited the lodges, which were about half a mile south from our encampment. Here I found another piece of corn, potatoes and squashes. While our party were procuring some small canoes suitable for our route to Elk Lake, I went

into one of the lodges, read several portions of Scripture; among others the ten commandments, and sang several Indian hymns. All listened with apparent interest and surprise. As I had not an interpreter, I was unable to communicate much more than to read such portions of Scripture and hymns, as were familiar to me. In the lodge, directly before me, were suspended three human scalps. These were the trophies of victory with which they had just returned from the Sioux. Several of the warriors of this band, joined the Leech lake band in the recent excursion, and the Indian who was killed, belonged here.

Before I had returned to our tent, which is pitched but a few yards from two graves, the greater part of the Indians had here collected, and begun the scalp-dance. It was led by three squaws, each bearing in her hand one of the recent scalps. Two or three men sat beating drums and singing, while old and young, male and female, all joined in the song. Occasionally all would become so animated that there would be one general hop, and all at the same time, throwing their heads back, would raise a most horrid yell, clapping the mouth with the hand, to render it, if possible, more terrific. Here were seen little boys and girls, not six years old, all looking on with the most intense interest, imitating their fathers and mothers, and participating in their brutal joy. Thus early do they learn by precept and example, to imbibe the spirit of revenge and war, which is fostered in their bosoms, and in after life stimulates them to go and perform some deed of daring and blood, which shall gain for themselves the like applause.

A circumstance which rendered the scene not a little appalling, is, it was performed around the graves of the dead. At the head of those graves, hangs an old scalp, some ten feet above the ground, which the winds have almost divested of its ornaments and its hair. The grass and the turf for

several yards around, are literally destroyed, and I presume, by their frequent dancing. One of the scalps, I examined. The flesh side had apparently been smoked and rubbed with some material till it was pliant, after which it was painted with vermillion. A piece of wood is turned in the form of a horse-shoe, into which the scalp is sewed, the threads passing round the wood, which keeps it tight. Narrow pieces of cloth and ribands of various colors, attached to the bow, were ornamented with beads and feathers. A small stick, which serves for a handle to shake it in the air when they dance, was attached to the top of the bow by a string.—While examining it, a lock of hair fell from it, which the Indian gave me and which I still preserve.

MARCH TO ELK LAKE.

JULY 13. Commenced our march this morning, at six, and continued till nine. The weather is warm and sultry, and the musquitoes more numerous and savage than can be imagined. We now leave this branch of the Mississippi and make a portage of six miles, when I hope to see the highest source of the river. At eleven A. M., took our effects on our backs, and entered a swamp, leaving which, we came to a ridge of small grey pines which we followed most of the remainder of the distance, and at two P. M., reached Elk lake.* This is a small but beautiful body of water, about eight miles in length and from half a mile to two or more in breadth. Its form is exceedingly irregular, from which the Indians gave it the name of Elk, in reference to its branching horns. The distance from upper Red Cedar lake by the southeast fork, is about one hundred and twenty miles.

JULY 14. Embarked at half past five, and descended two

*Elk lake, now called Itasca, is regarded as the highest source of the Mississippi river.

or three strong and difficult rapids. In one of them a canoe was capsized, and all the men and their effects were thrown into the midst of the rapids. Hearing an outcry, I turned to see what was the matter, when the first I saw was a keg of pork, bounding down the rapids over the stones with one head out. The next was a loaf of bread, which the Indian in my canoe took in with his spear. Nothing can exceed the grandeur and pleasure of the scene, in descending a large stream in one of these small canoes, when the current is strong, and the water smooth. The canoe is borne on, not only with all the rapidity of the current, but when the paddles are applied, its speed is like that of a race horse.

This afternoon passed the Sioux embankment. This consists of two considerable cavities in the earth, sufficient to conceal thirty men. They are so situated on the bank of the river, as just to overlook a bend, which is the commencement of a considerable rapid. Here, I am informed, a party of Sioux once entrenched themselves, and killed a large number of the Ojibwas as they were descending the river.—When they once entered the rapids, there was no escape.

RETURN TO UPPER RED CEDAR LAKE.

JULY 15. Sabbath. Reached the island early this morning, having marched all night. Find all our men well, and much recruited by resting four days, during our absence. The party that have accompanied us, are so much fatigued by our tour to Elk lake, that it is thought best to defer our service in English, while I devote what time and strength I have to the Indians. Retired in the morning with the three pious soldiers, and spent an hour in prayer and conversation. I find them all much depressed. I read to some of the Indians who came to our tent this forenoon. In the afternoon collected about seventy Indians or more, all of

whom listened with apparent interest and good attention to the word of God, and most of them for the first time. Our place of assembling was near the graves, before mentioned, on the ground where the horrid scalp-dance is often exhibited. Never did I witness a more interesting, respectful, and attentive Indian audience. Mr. J. read to them the account of the creation and flood, after which I read the ten commandments from which I made some remarks, and informed them of the object of my visit. The inquiry was put to the principal man, the chief being absent, "Would you like to have a missionary come and live with you, instruct your children, and tell you about God?" To which he replied, "Neither myself nor any one present can answer the inquiry, as the chief is absent, and many of the young men are very vicious."

As we assembled for our worship, five or six Indians were sitting near, engaged in a game of platter, which was soon left. Not long after our meeting closed, the dance began and continued without cessation, till eleven o'clock. I learned from some of the men who remained, that the Indians danced almost day and night during our absence. I am also informed that three canoes from Leech lake passed here yesterday, on their way to Red lake, to carry the wampum and the pipe to invite that band to join them in another war party, to revenge the death of the Indian who was killed in their late excursion.

I much regret that I must leave this country without seeing the chief. The land is capable of raising corn, and I presume, wheat, barley, and rye. The first is already cultivated to a considerable extent. This band has no very distinguished *medicine man*, or conjurer among them, whose influence is much to be feared. One would think, in looking at their growing corn, potatoes, &c., that they are already far advanced in the arts of civilized life. One requested a

few beans to plant next year. Another, asked for a little salt, and in return, brought us some very fine potatoes, which were not merely a rarity to us, but a curiosity here at this advanced season. They obtained the corn, which they have cultivated here many years, from Red river. The island is large and in the form of a cross. The lake is a large body of water, and affords many fish. Much wild rice also, is gathered in the vicinity. The only water communication is with the Mississippi river. The distance to Sandy lake is three hundred and fifty or four hundred miles; and to the Falls of St. Anthony the distance is from six hundred and fifty to eight hundred miles.

LEECH LAKE.

JULY 16. At 10, A. M., we took leave of our Indian friends here, and in a southeast course proceeded to Leech Lake, passing a number of islands in our way, on which red cedar is found, from which the lake takes its name. We made two short portages, and came to small lakes which we traversed, passing through their outlets, till we reached a large stream, which bore us to Leech Lake, than which nothing can be more irregular in shape. We reached the Indian village, at ten in the evening, a distance of forty-five or fifty miles.

JULY 17. At day-break my slumbers were broken by the discharge of muskets and the yell of Indians, who had collected to give us a morning salute. On going to the door of the tent, I was not a little surprised to find a field of corn and potatoes at our heads, which was not discovered last evening amid the darkness. Early this morning the principal chief sent his *mishiniue*, waiting-man, requesting Mr. S. to come and breakfast with him. Decorum, and to avoid giving offense, required him to comply with the request, though he was at liberty to furnish the table mostly himself.

A mat spread in the middle of the floor served as a table, upon which the dishes were placed. Around this were spread others upon which the guests sat, while the wife of the chief waited upon the table and poured the tea. She afterwards took her breakfast by herself. After breakfast was over, Mr. J. accompanied us to the chief's quarters to give us an introduction. It is a building. perhaps twenty feet by twenty-five, made of logs, and which, I am informed, was presented him by one of the traders. As we entered, the old chief, bare-legged and bare-foot, sat with much dignity upon a cassette. A blanket and cloth about the loins covered his otherwise naked body, which was painted black. His chief men occupied a bench by his side, while forty or more of his warriors sat on the floor around the walls of his room smoking. The old man rose and gave us his hand as we were introduced, bidding us to take a seat at his right, on his bed. As I cast my eyes around upon this savage group, for once I wished that I possessed the painter's skill. The old chief had again resumed his seat upon the large wooden trunk, and as if to sit a little more like a white man than an Indian, had thrown one leg across the other knee. His warriors were all feathered, painted, and equipped for service. Many of them wore the insignia of courage, a strip of pole-cat skin round the head and heels, the bushy tail of the animal so attached to the latter as to drag on the ground. The crown of the head was ornamented with standing feathers, indicating the number of enemies the individual had killed, on one of which I counted no less than twelve. Their look was full of wildness, such as I never saw before, combining the fierceness of the tiger with the boldness of the lion.

One side of his room was hung with an English and an American flag, medals, war-clubs, lances, tomahawks, arrows,

and other implements of death. All seemed to whisper, this is the dwelling of the strong man armed. The subject of vaccination was now presented to the chief, with which he was pleased, and ordered his people to assemble for the purpose. I stood by the doctor and kept the minutes, while he performed the business.

After the presents had been distributed, Mr. S., wishing to reach the mouth of the Des Corbeau in season to fulfill his engagement there, requested me to address the Indians on the subject of my visit. They all listened attentively while I related to them what the Christian public are doing for their people in Canada, at the Sault Ste Marie, and at La Pointe, and also what is doing for the Seneca, Oneida, and Stockbridge Indians. I assured them of the interest felt for them as a people, and that their friends were ready to do something for them in the way of instructing their children, if they wished.

Preparations were now making for taking our leave, when the chief arose and announced to the Indians that he would speak a few words, as we should be displeased if he did not. Giving his hand again to each, he addressed himself to Mr. S. After the old chief closed his speech, he requested a white shirt of Mr. S. and some other things, (I say white, because so seldom seen in this country,) that he might lay aside his mourning. Just as we were ready to embark, the old man came out in all his regimentals —a military coat, faced with red, ruffle shirt, hat, pantaloons, gloves and shoes. So entirely changed was his appearance, that I did not recognize him till he spoke.

This band is considered the largest, and perhaps the most warlike in the whole Ojibwa nation. It numbers 706, exclusive of a small band, probably 100, on Bear Island, one of the numerous islands in this lake; but the reason of their not being numbered with the Leech Lake band the old chief

did not give. This lake abounds with fish of a fine quality. Wild rice is also gathered in its bays in considerable quantities. Fish and rice here are the principal means of subsistence, though the Indians, to some extent, cultivate the land. This band have eight places where they cultivate the ground and pass some part of the spring and summer. The numbers, location, and means of subsistence, give this place advantages superior to any I have yet seen, if a missionary could live among these savage men. It is situated in the neighborhood, (as it would be termed in this country,) of Upper Red Cedar or Cassina band, Winnipeg band, which are each but forty-five or fifty miles distant; of Red Lake band about three days march distant, and Sandy Lake about the same. It is central in relation to these neighboring bands, with each of which they have frequent intercourse at all seasons of the year.

RETURN TO THE MISSISSIPPI.

JULY 18. While prosecuting our journey this afternoon, the old chief and one of his counsellors, MACHI GABO, with their wives, overtook us. He appeared more friendly to our government than his speech indicated yesterday. He came to see how we were getting along without guides, who, as we did not tarry this morning for them to come to our place of encampment, probably turned back. We have crossed five short portages to-day, the longest of which is nearly two miles, and the shortest, one *pose*, or half a mile. The number of lakes we have crossed is nine, some of which are separated only by a narrow stream of a few yards in length. This, I am informed, is the character of the country in this region. In what way soever you go, you are sure soon to fall upon a small lake.

JULY 21. At 12 o'clock, reached the mouth of the Des Corbeau, a large stream, three days from Leech Lake—dis-

tance 230 miles. Here we found the Sandy Lake band, who were absent when we visited that place. They had sent two canoes up the river a few miles, to meet us and give them a signal of our approach. All were encamped on the high banks of the Mississippi, which for several rods was completely lined with their bark canoes and wigwams, near which four or five American flags were hoisted. As we drew near to disembark, all collected on the high bluff directly above us, and commenced their discharge of muskets, their jumping and yelling, while the frightened dogs added what they could to the scene of confusion. Hardly were our tents pitched ere the canoe from Sandy Lake arrived with the presents which Mr. S. left there for this band. These were issued, and Mr. S. addressed the chiefs on the subject of their keeping the peace with their neighbors the Sioux. The chiefs, in reply, reminded him of the treaty at Prairie du Chien and at Fon du Lac. "The promise of the Great Father," they said, "had not been fulfilled. Their neighbors already called them women and not men, because they sat still; and if a war party should come along, or if they should send them the pipe, they did not know how they should act."

While issuing the presents and counselling with the Indians, two or three men came in from an excursion, with three bears on their shoulders. They made us a present of some of the meat as we left. It was now quite late, and we wished to descend the Mississippi about eighteen miles, to pass the Sabbath. Mr. S., therefore, invited the Indians to accompany us, or to come in the morning, as I wished to say some things to them, which I had not time now to communicate.

JULY 23. The gentleman engaged in the fur-trade at this place speaks well of this band of Indians, and is desirous of a school at or near his post, offering to do all

in his power to aid, in case a person is sent here. This is the hunting ground, both summer and winter, for the Sandy Lake band, and it is in this vicinity, also, that they make their gardens. The disposition of the band also is pacific, compared with that of all the other bands northwest. In addition to all, the soil here is of a fine quality, prairie land, ready for the spade or plough. The place, however, is contiguous to the Sioux country, with whom the Ojibwas are now at war, and might on that account be unsafe for a mission school.

DESCENT OF THE MISSISSIPPI—FORT SNELLING.

Embarked at six, A. M., and commenced our descent of the Mississippi. The east bank is generally high, rising in many places to a bluff, while the west, at the same time, is low and alluvial. The current is strong, amounting to rapids almost every few miles. At eight we reached the Little Falls. Instead of making a short portage here as is usual, the water being sufficiently high to clear the canoe from stones, we only put into the current and let her drive. The stream is full of small islands, many of which are covered with a beautiful growth of elm, maple, butternut, and white walnut. The country here is prairie, extending as far as the eye can reach, with here and there a clump of oaks, which at a distance looks like some old New England orchard. It is the most interesting and inviting tract of country I have ever seen. If there is anything that can meet the wishes, and fill the soul of man with gratitude, it is found here. What would require the labor of years, in preparing the land for cultivation in many of the old states, is here all prepared to the hand. As far as the eye can reach, is one continued field of grass and flowers, waving in the passing breeze, exhibiting the appearance of a country which

has been cultivated for centuries, but now deserted of its inhabitants. The gentle swells, which are seen here and there, give a pleasing variety. The soil is apparently easy of cultivation, a black earth and a mixture of black sand. Nothing can be more picturesque or grand, than the high banks at a distance, rising before you as you descend. The islands in the stream are most of them alluvial, a soil of the richest quality.

We have marched thirteen hours and a half to-day, at the rate of ten miles per hour, and are encamped this evening in the dominions of the Sioux, though we have as yet seen none.

JULY 25. Embarked at five this morning, and marched till twelve, when we reached the falls of St. Anthony, nine miles above the mouth of the St. Peter's. Our government have here a saw-mill and grist-mill on the west bank of the Mississippi, and also have a large farm. The soldiers are here cutting the hay. For beauty, the country around exceeds all that I can say. These falls are an interesting object to look at, but there is nothing about them that fills one with awe, as do the falls of Niagara. The stream is divided in about its centre by a bluff of rocks covered with a few trees. The perpendicular fall is perhaps twenty feet on each side of this bluff, at the foot of which there is a shoot of some ten or fifteen feet more in a descent.

A short portage was made around the falls, when we again embarked in the rapids, and in about an hour reached Fort Snelling. This post is located at the junction of the St. Peter's with the Mississippi. It stands on a high bluff, rising on the north nearly 300 feet above the water. The walls of the fort, and of most of the buildings, are of stone. The tower commands an extensive and beautiful view of the adjacent country, and of the Mississippi and St. Peter's rivers.

The officers visited us at our tents, invited us to their quarters, and treated us with much kindness and attention.

After Mr. S. had stated to three or four of the principal Sioux chiefs who had been requested to visit him, the object of his tour, and mentioned the complaints which the Ojibwas brought against them for breaking the treaties of Prairie du Chien and Fon du Lac, LITTLE CROW rose and replied, that he recollected those treaties, when they smoked the pipe, and all agreed to eat and drink out of the same dish. He wished the line to be drawn between them and the Ojibwas; the sooner it was fixed the better. He alluded to the late war party from Leech lake, which had killed two of his nephews, and were now dancing around their scalps; but he did not complain, nor would he go and revenge their death. He denied that the Sioux were in league with the Sacs and Foxes. BLACK DOG, and the MAN-WHO-FLOATS-ON THE WATER, also spoke in much the same manner.

RETURN TO LAKE SUPERIOR.

JULY 26. Took leave of our friends here this morning, and descended about nine miles, when we came to LITTLE CROW'S village. Here we were received with a salute, in giving which, however, some of his men endeavored to give us an example of their skill as marksmen, by seeing how near they could come to our canoe and yet not hit it. Several of the balls struck the water within a few feet of us. An Indian always puts in a ball, if he has one, in firing a salute. The Sioux have here a number of comfortable dwellings made of poles covered with bark. They raise corn, potatoes, etc. The Mississippi here loses its prairie character, and its banks become thinly wooded. The east shore, in many places, is rocky, and covered with red cedar. At three, P. M., entered St. Croix lake, from which we are to enter the St. Croix

river, which we are to ascend on our return to Lake Superior.

JULY 31. We embarked at five this morning, and at ten reached the mouth of Yellow river, which communicates with Ottawa lake. Here we found a few Indians. A woman brought us a bowl of new potatoes, and a pan of dried venison. The potatoes were an unexpected rarity. The venison was first dried or smoked, and then pulverized in a mortar. The Indians here raise corn, potatoes, and squashes in considerable quantities. In fifteen miles we came to the forks of the St. Croix.

AUGUST 1. Wild rice looks beautifully on the margin of the river as we ascend. The bend of the stream is completely paved with stones, and we have rapid upon rapid since leaving the forks. For miles our men have been obliged to wade in the stream and lift the canoe over the rocks, while we are glad to find our way as we can, sometimes in the middle of the stream, and sometimes on the shore.

BATTLE OF LAKE POKEGUMA.

AS NARRATED BY AN EYE WITNESS.—BY REV. E. D. NEILL.

Pokeguma is one of the "Mille Lacs," or thousand beautiful lakes for which Minnesota is remarkable. It is about four or five miles in extent, and a mile or more in width.—Its shores are strewn with boulders that in a past geologic age have been brought by some mighty impetus from the icy north. Down to the water's edge grow the tall pines, through which, for many years, the deer have bounded, and the winds sighed mournfully, as they wafted away to distant lands the shriek of many Dakota or Ojibwa mothers, caused by the slaughter of their children.

This lake is situated on Snake river, about twenty miles above the junction of that stream with the St. Croix.—Though as late as the year 1700, the Dakotas have resided in this vicinity, for a long period it has been the abode of their enemies, the Ojibwas.

In the year 1836, misionaries of the American Board of Foreign Missions connected with the Congregational and Presbyterian denominations, came to reside among the Ojibwas of Pokeguma, to promote their temporal and spiritual welfare. Their mission-house was built on the east side of the lake; but the Indian village was on an island not far from the shore. In a few years, several Indian families, among others that of the chief, were induced to build log houses around the mission. The missionaries felt, to use the language of one of them, that "the motives of the gospel had no more influence over the Indian, in themselves considered, than over the deer that he follows in the chase." They therefore first encouraged the Indian to work, and always purchased of him his spare provisions.

By aiding them in this way, many had become quite industrious. In a letter written in 1837, we find the following: "The young women and girls now make, mend, wash, and iron after our manner. The men have learned to build log houses, drive team, plough, hoe, and handle an American axe with some skill in cutting large trees, the size of which, two years ago, would have afforded them a sufficient reason why they should not meddle with them."

On May fifteenth, 1841, two young men had gone, by order of Mr. JEREMIAH RUSSELL, now of Sauk Rapids, then Indian farmer at Pokeguma, to the Falls of St. Croix, after a load of provisions. On the next day, which was Sunday, the news arrived there, that a Dakota war party, headed by LITTLE CROW, of the Kaposia band, whose face is so familiar to the older citizens of St. Paul, was on the way to their village. Immediately they started back on foot to give the alarm to their relatives and friends.

They had hardly left the Falls, on their return, before they saw a party of Dakotas, stripped and bedaubed with vermillion, and preparing themselves for war. The sentinel of the enemy had not noticed the approach of the young men. A few yards in front of the Ojibwa youth sat two of the sons of LITTLE CROW, behind a log, exulting, no doubt, in anticipation of the scalps in reserve for them at the lake. In the twinkling of an eye, these two young Ojibwas raised their guns, fired, and killed both of the chief's sons. The sentinel, who by his carelessness allowed them to pass, was a third son. The discharge of the guns revealed to him that an enemy was near, and as the Ojibwas were retreating, he fired, and mortally wounded one of the two.

Fiendish was the rage of the Dakotas at this disastrous surprise. According to custom, the corpses of the chief's sons were dressed, and then set up with their faces towards

the country of their ancient enemies. The wounded Ojibwa was horribly mangled by the infuriated party, and his limbs strewn about in every direction. His scalped head was placed in a kettle, and suspended in front of the two Dakota corpses, in the belief that it would be gratifying to the spirits of the deceased, to see before them the bloody and scalpless head of one of their enemies.

LITTLE CROW, disheartened by the loss of his two boys, returned with his party to Kaposia. But other parties were in the field. The Dakotas had divided themselves into three bands; and it was the understanding that one party was first to attack Pokeguma, and then retire. After the Ojibwas supposed that the attack was over, the second party was to commence their fire, and after they had ceased to fight, the third party was to begin to slaughter.

The second party proceeded as far as the mouth of Snake river, but, supposing that the Ojibwas had discovered them, they turned back, and upon their arrival at the Falls of St. Croix, they were still more chagrined by hearing of the death of the sons of the Kaposia chief.

It was not till Friday, the twenty-first of May, that the death of one of the young Ojibwas sent by Mr. RUSSSELL to the Falls of St. Croix, was known at Pokeguma. The murdered youth was a son of one of those families who had renounced heathenism, and whose parents lived on the lake shore, in one of the log buildings, by the mission-house. The intelligence alarmed the Ojibwas on the island opposite the mission, and on Monday, the twenty-fourth, three young men left in a canoe to go to the west shore of the lake, and from thence to Mille Lacs, to give intelligence to the Ojibwas there, of the skirmish that had already occurred. They took with them two Indian girls, about twelve years of age, who were pupils of the mis-

sion school, for the purpose of bringing the canoe back to the island. Just as the three were landing, twenty or thirty Dakota warriors, with a war whoop emerged from their concealment behind the trees, and fired into the canoe. The young men instantly sprang into the water, which was shallow, returned the fire, and ran into the woods, escaping without material injury.

The little girls, in their fright, waded into the lake; and as in Indian warfare it is as noble to kill an infant as an adult, a delicate woman as a strong man, the Dakota braves, with their spears and war clubs, rushed into the water after the children and killed them. Their parents upon the island, heard the death cries of their children; and for a time the scene was one of the wildest confusion. Some of the Indians around the mission-house jumped into their canoes and gained the island. Others went into some fortified log huts. The attack upon the canoe, it was afterwards learned, was premature. The party upon that side of the lake were ordered not to fire, until the party stationed in the woods near the mission commenced.

There were in all one hundred and eleven Dakota warriors, and the fight was in the vicinity of the mission-house, and the Ojibwas mostly engaged in it were those who had been under religious instruction. The rest were upon the island. During the engagement, an incident occurred, as worthy of note as some of those in Grecian history.

The fathers of the murdered girls, burning for revenge, left the island in a canoe, and drawing it up on the shore, hid behind it, and fired upon the Dakotas and killed one. The Dakotas advancing upon them, they were obliged to escape. The canoe was now launched. One lay on his back in the bottom; the other plunged into the water, and holding the canoe with one hand,

and swimming with the other, he towed his friend out of danger. The Dakotas, infuriated at their escape, fired volley after volley at the swimmer, but he escaped the balls by putting his head under water whenever he saw them take aim, and waiting till he heard the discharge, when he would look and breathe.

After a fight of two hours, the Dakotas retreated with a loss of two men. At the request of the parents, Mr. E. F. ELY, now of Oneota, from whose notes the writer has obtained these facts, being at that time a teacher at the mission, went across the lake, with two of his friends, to gather the remains of his murdered pupils. He found the corpses on the shore. The heads cut off and scalped, with a tomahawk buried in the brains of each, were set up in the sand near the bodies. The bodies were pierced in the breast, and the right arm of one was taken away. Removing the tomahawks, the bodies were brought back to the island, and in the afternoon were buried in accordance with the simple but solemn rites of the Church of Christ, by members of the mission.

It is usual for Indians to leave their murdered on or near the battle-field, with their faces looking towards the enemy's country: and on Wednesday the Ojibewas started out in search of the Dakotas that had been killed. By following the trail, they soon found the two bodies, and scalped them. One of the heads was also cut off and brought to the island, to adorn the graves of the little girls. To a Northwestern savage, such a head-stone at a daughter's grave is more gratifying than one of sculptured Italian marble. Strips of flesh were fastened to the trees. A breast was also taken, and cooked and eaten by the braves to express their hatred to the Dakotas.

The mother and wife of the young man who had

been killed by LITTLE CROW's third son, were each presented with a hand. These women had been accustomed to attend preaching at the mission house, and knew the principles of the Prince of Peace. Though they had in 1839, lost many relatives by an attack from the Dakotas, on Rum river, they engaged in no savage orgies, but withdrawing to their wigwam, they placed the hands of their foes upon their knees, gazed in silence, then wrapped them in white muslin and interred them. Such is one of the many similar scenes that has occurred in our own Territory within ten years. The president of the Historical Society, in his address of 1851, well remarked, that the region between the falls of St. Croix and Mille Lacs, is a "Golgotha"—a place of skulls.

The sequel to this story is soon told. The Indians of Pokeguma, after the fight, deserted their village, and went to reside with their countrymen near Lake Superior.

In July of the following year, a war party was formed at Fond du Lac, about forty in number, and proceeded towards the Dakota country. When they reached Kettle river, they were joined by the Ojibwas of St. Croix and Mille Lacs, and thus numbered about one hundred warriors. Sneaking, as none but Indians can, they arrived unnoticed at the little settlement, below St. Paul, commonly called "Pig's Eye," which is opposite Kaposia, or LITTLE CROW'S village. Finding an Indian woman at work in the garden of her husband, a Canadian, by the name of GAMELLE, they killed her; also another woman, with her infant, whose head was cut off. The Dakotas, on the opposite side, were mostly intoxicated; and flying across in their canoes but half prepared, they were worsted in the encounter. They lost about twelve warriors, and one of their number, known as THE DANCER, the Ojibwas are said to have skinned.

SAINT PAUL, 1852.

MEMOIR OF JEAN N. NICOLLET.

BY HON. HENRY H. SIBLEY.

The Executive Committee has been pleased to impose upon me as a member of the Society, the duty of preparing for its records, a notice of the life of an eminent individual, now no more, whose name is identified with the early history of the region at present embraced within the limits of Minnesota. To the scientific explorations of NICOLLET, our Territory is indebted for much of the interest with which it is regarded in all portions of the Union, the results of those labors having been communicated in a form and under auspices the most favorable for their publicity, while the statements made under the sanction of his distinguished name, precluded all doubt of their correctness in the minds of the community at large.

I approach the subject with much diffidence, not only because I am deeply sensible of my inability to do it justice, but because my time has been so much engrossed by my public duties as to prevent me from devoting to it the research necessary to make available all the materials which might otherwise have been collected. Thus much I may be permitted to state, by way of apology for the imperfect manner in which the task has been performed.

For the most of what may be found interesting in this memoir, I am most happy to acknowledge my obligations, and those of the Society, to Col. J. J. ABERT, Chief of the U. S. Engineer Corps, under whose immediate supervision

the subject of this paper prosecuted his investigations for some years, and with whom he was on terms of the closest intimacy. That gentleman very kindly furnished me with a sketch of his friend's career, written by himself, and permitted me to make copious extracts therefrom, which are embodied in the following pages.

It will be found in the case of NICOLLET, as in manifold others, where the life of an individual has been mainly devoted to the service of his fellow-men, in the higher branches of science, that disappointment and unkind treatment had clouded and embittered the very hours thus benevolently spent, and that Death finally set his seal upon labors destined to produce great and beneficent results to the human race, without the consolation being afforded to the departing spirit of feeling that the importance of those labors had been duly appreciated.

JEAN N. NICOLLET was born in the year 1790, at Cluses, a small town, capital of Fansigny in Savoie. His parents were poor, and he was consequently reduced to the necessity of gaining a subsistence by playing upon the flute and violin, before he had reached the tender age of ten years.—He was then apprenticed to a watch-maker, and remained with him until he was eighteen years old, when he removed to Chambry, the capitol of Savoie, where he followed his occupation, at the same time prosecuting his studies in mathematics, for his proficiency in which science he received a prize. From Chambry he returned to Cluses, and there gave lessons in mathematics, he himself receiving instruction in Latin and other languages. He continued this course of life for about two years, when he went to Paris and was admitted in the first class of L'Ecole Normale, and soon afterwards he was placed in charge of the mathematical course in the College of "Louis Le Grand."

It was in 1818 that NICOLLET published his celebrated

letter to M. QUTREQUIN BANQUIER, "on assurances having for their basis, the probable duration of human life." This little work gained for him a high reputation, affording to the Assurance Societies the prospect of establishing their regulations upon the more certain basis of mathematical demonstration, and he soon found himself courted by financiers, while at the same time he was admitted into the higher circles of society. Shortly afterwards he wrote for the "Modern Encyclopedia" several articles on *probabilities* and one upon *assurances*. It is stated, that his knowledge of the English gave him a great advantage, in being able to consult writers in that language on the Theory of Assurances in applying it to every species of risks.

From 1819 and 1820, may be dated the commencement of his astronomical labors. During those years he made observations upon the lunar spot Manilus, and uniting them with those made by M. BONVARD in 1806, he having discussed the whole in a memoir published in the Connaisance des Temps in 1822 and 1823.

On the 21st January, 1821, between six and seven in the evening, he discovered a comet in the constellation of Pegasus, (seen on the same day and at the same hour by PONS at Marseilles,) and from his own observations and those of the astronomers and the observatory, he completed its parabolic elements. On the 22d of April, 1830, he discovered another comet between the constellations Delphinus and Equileus, but was on that occasion preceded by M. GAMBART of Marseilles, who had already seen it on the 21st of the same month.

We are besides indebted to NICOLLET for observations and computations of other comets, among which may be mentioned that of 1823, whose elements he computed. He had already labored some time in the Observatory at Paris when, in 1822, he entered the "Bureau des Longitudes" as

an adjunct. His position was thus for the future most honorably established. The publications of the Observatory will show the part he took in the observations.

About the same time, he was employed by the "Bureau des Longitudes" to perform an important work in connection with other distinguished savans, in determining the figure of the earth, by comparing a measured terrestrial arc with the celestial arc corresponding to it. The results of those labors were published in the "Connaisance des Temps" for 1829. M. NICOLLET also published in 1828, a memoir in a new computation of the latitudes of certain places, to serve as a supplement to that great work, the "Base du Systeme Metrique."

Previous to 1825, M. NICOLLET received the decoration of the Legion of Honor, and had also been attached, as Professor, to the Royal College of "Louis Le Grand."—Being, in addition, appointed one of the Inspectors of the Naval Schools, he published in 1829, conjointly with MM. REYNAUD and GERAUD, a course of mathematics in three volumes, for the use of the candidates for promotion—the second volume, containing geometry and trigonometry, being edited solely by himself.

During a journey to Brest, he determined the horizontal magnetic intensity at that point, for comparison with the intensities at Paris and Brussels. These were made in 1831, and their results inserted in the first volume of the Bulletins. He was named a Corresponding Member of the Royal Academy of Science and Belles Lettres at Brussels, and several of his communications inserted in the publications of the Academy.

M. NICOLLET had hitherto been fortunate in his financial concerns, and had accumulated a considerable sum of money. Tempted by his uniform success, and being a firm believer in his theory of probabilities and his mathematical combinations, he launched boldly forth upon the sea of specula-

tion, and, as might well have been predicted, he failed, and lost not only his own fortune, but involved others also, and was forced to seek refuge in the United States, his former friends being found among his most bitter and implacable persecutors, *que ne lui pardonnent pas, parcequil n'a pas reussi.*

His arrival in our country in 1832, an entire stranger and with but limited pecuniary means at his disposal, was consequently under very discouraging circumstances. Living chiefly in the South-West, where he occupied himself with some astronomical instruments he had brought with him, he was fortunate enough to make the acquaintance of Bishop CHANGE of Natchez, who proved a kind and true friend to him thereafter. He was treated with much warm hospitality in that region, his scientific attainments proving a passport to the best society, and the pleasure he always took in communicating information to others, rendering him an interesting and valuable companion.

We have now traced the career of M. NICOLLET, briefly and imperfectly, down to the period from which may be dated the identification of his name and fame with the history of our own interesting Territory. In the spring of 1835, he set out on his tour to the Upper Mississippi, with a view of exploring that river, and determining its sources with astronomical accuracy. His intention to enter upon this field of labor had been previously made known, for in 1833, the War Department had furnished him with letters of protection and hospitality to the commanding officers and Indian Agents on that frontier. He also received from the Department the loan of certain instruments needed by him, but beyond these inconsiderable aids, he undertook the expedition at his own expense and risk. "We have understood, however, that the intelligent and enterprising house of P. CHOUTEAU, Jr., & Co., of St. Louis, then extensively

engaged in the Indian trade, contributed liberally towards M. NICOLLET'S outfit and expenses, looking for no other remuneration than the general information which would be the result."*

It was in the year 1835, therefore, that my own acquaintance with the subject of this memoir commenced.—Being provided with introductory letters to myself as well as to other individuals in this part of the country, he called at Mendota soon after his arrival at Fort Snelling, unfolded his plan of operations with the utmost freedom and frankness, and solicited my aid and co-operation in his enterprize. In those days when the nearest settlement of whites was nearly three hundred miles distant, the advent of a decent and intelligent visitor was hailed with delight. Whatever assistance could be rendered to advance the objects of such an individual, if proper in themselves, was cordially given by the officers at the military posts, as well as by those men in charge of trading stations. All were equally anxious for his success, and M. NICOLLET soon found himself equipped at comparatively small expense with the means of ascending the Mississippi river. It is not necessary for me to enter into a detail of the results of his expedition. They have been given to the world in the form of a report published by the General Government. M. NICOLLET was absent several months, and he returned to Fort Snelling late in the autumn, to prosecute his studies, and to calculate the astronomical observations he had made during his tour. A portion of the winter following was spent by him at my house, and it is hardly necessary to state that I found in him a most instructive companion. His devotion to his studies was intense and unremitting, and I frequently expostulated with him upon his imprudence in thus over-tasking the strength of his delicate frame, but with little effect. When

*Col. Abert.

the weather was auspicious, telescope in hand, he would spend hours of the cold winter-nights of our high latitude in astral observations. He continued his labors until the opening of spring called him to encounter the privations and sufferings necessarily attendant upon a long sojourn in the wilderness. Such was the enthusiasm of his nature, that he submitted to all physical inconveniences without murmuring, and as of no moment when compared with the magnitude of the enterprise in which he was engaged.

In 1838, he visited Washington City with his maps and journals, and was there greeted with much warmth by kind and sympathizing friends who had watched his undertaking with interest, and who extended to him such aid as could be offered without offence to his sensitiveness and delicacy. Among these may be named the Hon. JOEL R. POINSETT, then at the head of the War Department, and Col. ABERT, Chief of the Engineer Corps of the U. S. Army. These gentlemen were kindred spirits, who could appreciate and esteem the character of NICOLLET. Mr. POINSETT was not only a literary man, but he was possessed also of respectable scientific acquirements, and his comprehensive mind at once led him to perceive the importance to the country of securing the materials collected by NICOLLET in his excursions, and of engaging him in further explorations of the vast basin lying between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. To this end, he authorized the Chief of Engineers to make arrangements with M. NICOLLET for the transfer of his maps and journals to the Government, and to secure his further services. These, with a man like NICOLLET, who panted for greater opportunity to distinguish himself, were soon perfected, and he became a Government officer, with abundant means to carry out his projects. He proceeded on his mission, resolved to do credit to himself, as well as to the Government which had honored him with its confidence.

The eventful career of JOHN C. FREMONT may be said to have commenced with this expedition, he having been attached to it by order of the Secretary of War. M. NICOLLET ascended the Missouri River with his company to Fort Pierre, from which point he diverged across the prairies to Devil's Lake, and thence to the head of the Minnesota river and down its valley to Mendota. On his way he visited the Pipe Stone Quarry (so called) on the Coteau de Prairie, explored the Undine Region in which some of the numerous tributaries of the Blue Earth take their rise, and I well remember the glowing terms which he used in speaking of the Valley of the Minnesota, characterizing it as the garden spot of the North-West, and as destined, at no distant day, to be the happy home of an industrious and enterprising population.

M. NICOLLET frequently referred to Col. FREMONT, in his conversations with me, as a young man of more than ordinary promise, and stated his conviction, that the modest and unassuming youth, if his life should be spared, would, in due time, carve out for himself a distinguished position among the *savans* of the age.

I was favored by a visit of some weeks from both these gentlemen; but while I was rejoiced at the success that had crowned their efforts, I could not conceal from myself the fact, that the arduous nature of his labors was rapidly wearing away the health of NICOLLET, and that his delicate frame could not much longer withstand the workings of the fiery spirit within.

One of the results of NICOLLET'S labors was the magnificent map which bears his name, and which has associated it with that of our own section of country for all time to come. Although that map is imperfect in its details, as all must necessarily be that are not based upon an actual survey of all the region therein delineated, yet its main points

are remarkable for their correctness, especially of those parts which he visited in person. The accuracy of his astronomical observations, where they have been applied to determine the latitude and longitude of particular places, remains to this day unquestioned. The report submitted by him to the War Department, in 1841, of his explorations, and printed by order of Congress, was brief but very satisfactory, and tended to direct the attention of the reading community to the country he had described with so much ability.

I have reason to know that M. NICOLLET had collected ample materials for a work to consist of several volumes, relating principally to what is now Minnesota, in which it was his intention to elaborate the several departments of its geology, topography and geographical position, and many interesting topics connected with the Indian tribes, to be found therein, the structure of their several languages, and to state well-grounded opinions as to the condition of the races which preceded them. Such a preposition from the pen of a man so competent as himself to do justice to the subject, would have been of inestimable advantage, not only to our Territory, but to the whole Union. His premature death prevented the fulfilment of this design, and his papers have passed into the possession of different individuals, some of whom are unwilling to part with such cherished memorials of a departed friend. There is, consequently, little reason to hope that a publication will ever be made, embodying information comprised in those materials, at all commensurate in importance with the vast amount of scientific labor expended in their collection.

NICOLLET was fully satisfied that the soil of Minnesota would eventually prove to be rich in mineral deposits. I saw in his possession specimens of virgin copper and ore of the same metal, collected by him on the Upper Missis-

sippi, not far from the mouth of the Crow Wing River. The precise spot where the discovery was made, I am induced to believe NICOLLET never disclosed, unless, perhaps, confidentially to the Government, as he did not deem it proper that the knowledge acquired by him while in the public employ, should be used for purposes of private emolument.

It is not my purpose to follow the subject of this paper in his researches. His report already referred to, affords a synopsis of his explorations in this region. Let it suffice to state, that with less than an ordinary share of physical strength, and with the seeds of disease already implanted in his system, he endured fatigues and privations, overcame obstacles, and accomplished results, which might well be regarded as extraordinary in any man in the full vigor of robust health.

Leaving, therefore, the subject of NICOLLET'S investigations in the North-West, let us briefly trace his eventful career to its termination. His health was so seriously affected after his return to Washington in 1830, that from that time forward he was incapacitated from devoting himself to the accomplishment of his work as exclusively as he had previously done. Still he labored, but it was with depressed spirits and blighted hopes. He had long aspired to a membership in the Academy of Sciences of Paris. His long continued devotion and valuable contributions to the cause of science, and his correct deportment as a gentleman, alike entitled him to such a distinction. But his enemies were numerous and influential, and when his name was presented in accordance with a previous nomination, to fill a vacancy, he was black-balled and rejected. This last blow was mortal. True, he strove against the incurable melancholy which had fastened itself upon him, but his struggles waxed more and more faint, until death put a period to his sufferings on the 18th September, 1844.

Even when he was aware that his dissolution was near at hand, his thoughts reverted back to the days when he roamed along the valley of the Minnesota River. It was my fortune to meet him for the last time in the year 1842 in Washington City. A short time before his death I received a kind but mournful letter from him, in which he adverted to the fact that his days were numbered, but at the same time he expressed a hope that he would have strength sufficient to enable him to make his way to our country, that he might yield up his breath and be interred on the banks of his beloved St. Peters.

It would have been gratifying to his friends to know that the soil of the region which had employed so much of his time and scientific research, had received his mortal remains into its bosom, but they were denied this melancholy satisfaction. He sleeps beneath the sod, far away, in the vicinity of the Capital of the nation, but his name will continue to be cherished in Minnesota as one of its early explorers, and one of its best friends. The astronomer, the geologist, and the christian gentleman, JEAN N. NICOLLET, will long be remembered in connection with the history of the North-West.

"Time shall quench full many
A people's records and a hero's acts——
Sweep empire after empire into nothing;
But even then shall spare this deed of thine,
And hold it up, a problem few dare imitate,
And none despise."

[While this volume was in press, Gen. SIBLEY presented to the Society a letter, written (in French) by Mr. NICOLLET to him, in 1837, so characteristic of the writer, and which breathed so much of his gentle spirit, and enthusiastic devotion to science, it was accepted by the Society for publication in its Collections. Its only appropriate place is in connection with the memoir of Mr. N. and we here insert a very faithful transla-

tion of it by Mrs. ALICE GOODRICH, the accomplished wife of Hon. A. GOODRICH. It might be here mentioned that the valuable and voluminous papers of Mr. NICOLLET relating to this region, were lost after his death. The most persevering search by Gen. SIBLEY and others, who endeavored to secure them for this Society, were fruitless to discover their fate. W.

OHIO RIVER, STEAM-BOAT MARYLAND, November 27, 1837.

MY DEAR MR. SIBLEY:

It is nearly six weeks since I returned to St. Louis in good health and well pleased with the long journey I had made with our friend Mr. ATKIN. Upon my arrival Mr. CHOUTEAU gave me the good letter which you wrote to me from Pittsburg; truly that letter gave me great pleasure, reminding me as it did, of a land to which I had just bid *Farewell* for ever, where we spent such agreeable moments together, and where your friendly care permitted me to pursue my labors with ardor. I would have wished to answer you without delay, but you were not in Detroit; and on the other hand, I wished to inform you positively as to my movements, which were very undecided during several weeks, owing to a part of my collections having been miscarried on the Mississippi, to the recovery of which I was forced to devote time and anxiety. You know that my project had always been to regain the East by way of Detroit, Niagara, &c. The hope of finding you with your family was a great additional attraction in that direction, but I learned from time to time that you were yet in the midst of the dangers, which the *beauties* of the Atlantic cities offer to your heart, and when I had recovered my collection and accomplished the work which detained me in St. Louis, the bad season came to warn me it was too late, and that nothing better remained for me to do, than to hasten and pass the Alleghanies by the shortest route. Behold me then, on my way to Baltimore, with all my baggage, instruments, pebbles, plants, birds, reptiles, quadrupeds, medicine bags, moccasins, calumets &c. &c., and in company with Mr. P. CHOUTEAU, Jr., who is to spend the winter in New York, and with whom I would like you to meet and remain several days.

Now, my friend, these are my winter plans: I shall deposit my baggage in Baltimore, where I shall spend two weeks, thence to Washington till Christmas; in the month of January, New York and Boston. Tell me your projects, I pray; as I am free in my movements, there is nothing I would not do or modify, for the pleasure of seeing you again. You have been so good to me, that my affection and gratitude are yours forever, and always and every where it will be sweet to prove

this to you, as it will also be agreeable to me to learn that you still preserve a remembrance of me. It will be difficult to express the sorrow we experienced, Mr. AITKIN and I, when we returned to St. Peters, and learned that you had left. My heart was heavy and my eyes filled with tears, when Mr. ANDERSON told me how you had several times expressed regret at leaving me behind. Our isolation appeared so great that we only tarried the necessary number of hours to procure men capable of taking me to Prairie du Chien, in my little birch bark canoe. Mr. AITKIN, who has also been so good to me during our whole journey, was kind enough to wait for me, although very much pressed for time, and together we formed a little flotilla to Mr. DOUSMAN'S door. The haste with which I proceeded at St. Peters was such that I did not have time to settle my account with you. I took the bills with me, and settled with Mr. DOUSMAN, on reaching the Prairie. Comparing your memoranda with mine I discovered an error in your favor of $25, which you gave me one day in the midst of the occupations with which you were pressed in your office at Fort Snelling. I owe you in all $350, which I shall pay to Mr. CHOUTEAU (with that he has advanced me since my arrival in St. Louis) as soon as I arrive East. Thanking you once more for these important services, I pray you, my friend, to express also my gratitude to Messrs. DOUSMAN and ANDERSON, for the zeal with which they treated me.

Write to me : *St. Mary's College, Baltimore;* at all times it is the surest way for your letters to reach me, present or absent. If ever you pass by that city, do not fail to enquire for me of my friends in that beautiful college. Ask for the President, Doctor JOHN CHAUCHE, and tell him you are H. H. SIBLEY.

I saw the Major and the Sioux on their return from Washington. I learned particulars from that quarter, and several others, but it remains for me to hear from you, whether you are satisfied.

But the Major ! ! ! *Atte Sitcha.*

Adieu, my noble friend; yours heart and soul,

J. N. NICOLLET.]

A SKETCH OF JOSEPH RENVILLE.

A "BOIS BRULE," AND EARLY TRADER OF MINNESOTA.

BY REV. E. D. NEILL.

The opening of the fur trade of the North-West, under the patronage of LOUIS THE FOURTEENTH, tended to bring into existence a peculiar race of men, called "coureurs des bois." * Many of the wild and adventurous spirits of sunny France, tired of the "ancient regime," tempted by the dangers incident to the employment of collecting furs and the freedom from all restraint, hastened in frail birch canoes down rapids, and over lakes to the haunts of the bison and beaver. The unbridled zeal of the trader has ever made him the pioneer of the ecclesiastic.

As early as 1660,† two traders had penetrated the "incognita terra" beyond Lake Superior, and were the first Europeans that ever saw the Dakotas. It was a trader, and the noble-hearted LA SALLE, who sent HENNEPIN and his comrades on an exploring tour upon the Mississippi,‡ and they had been but a short time among

* This name was applied because they were employed in the transportation of merchandize into the interior. By means of portage collars, some of them could carry a keg of pork, or a bag of grain, up bluffs forming an angle of 45 degrees.

† See CHARLEVOIX, quarto edition, Paris, 1744.

‡ Two voyageurs accompanied HENNEPIN. He thus describes their outfit: "LA SALLE expecting now that I would depart without delay, he embraced me and gave me a calumet of peace, with two men to manage the canoe, to whom he gave goods to the value of 1,000 livres, to trade with the savages or make presents. He gave to me for my own use, ten knives, twelve shoemakers' awls or bodkins, a small roll of Martinico tobacco, two pounds of rassade or strings of colored glass to make bracelets of, and a small parcel of needles."—*Nouveau Voyage. Amsterdam Edition*, 1704.

the Dakotas, who dwelt upon the shores of Mille Lac, and the streams which flow therefrom, before SIEUR DU LUTH and other voyageurs arrived with a trading outfit from Lake Superior.

Previous to the year 1695, the canoe laden with trinkets, tobacco and knives, had entered the Minnesota, or "sky-tinted" river,* and in 1705, trading houses were erected on the banks of the Mankato or Blue Earth, and on an island below the St. Croix; and about that time, the enterprising PERROT had built a fort at the entrance of Lake Pepin. The father of him whom we purpose to sketch, was, in all probability, born before some of the first explorers of this Territory had entered "that bourne from whence no traveler returns."

As age began to stiffen the joints of the once supple voyageur, he naturally felt the want of some resting place, and companion, to cheer him in his declining years. Estranged from early associations, he did not hesitate to conform to the customs of the cinnamon colored race, and purchase a wife to hoe his corn, to mend his moccasins, to tend the lodge-fire, and to cook the game which he would bring home at night. The offspring of this alliance have become a numerous and interesting class in America, and have often exercised more sway in Indian affairs than chiefs.

JOSEPH RENVILLE was of mixed descent, and his history forms a link between the past and the present history of Minnesota. His father was a French trader of much repu-

*Minisota (Minnesota) in the Dakota, means water tinted like the sky, bluish rather than whitish. Minixoxe, (Minneshoshe) the name of the Missouri, signifies muddy water. The signification of Sota is given upon the authority of GIDEON H. POND. The Dakotas apply the word to the variegated or whitish blue appearance of the clouds. The Dakota Lexicon defines Sota as smoke; but calls Clear Lake, thirty-five miles from Traverse des Sioux on the road to Lac-qui-Parle,' "M'deminisota," (Medayminnesota) and the Minnesota, whitish water. Sky-tinted appears quite as accurate as the definitions of the Lexicon, and is certainly more beautiful.

tation. His mother was a Dakota, connected with some of the principal men of the Kaposia band. He was born below the town of St. Paul,* about the year 1779, during the war of the American revolution. At that time, there were probably not more than six white families residing in the whole of that vast territory that now comprises Northern Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota.

Accustomed to see no European countenance but that of his father, in sports, habits and feelings, he was a full Dakota youth. As often happens, his mother deserted her husband, and went to live with one of her own blood. The father noticing the activity of his son's mind took him to Canada before he was ten years of age, and placed him under the tuition of a priest of Rome. His instructor appears to have been both a kind and good man, and from him, he obtained a slight knowledge of the French language, and the elements of the christian religion. Before he attained to manhood, he was brought back to the Dakota land, and was called to mourn the death of his father.

At that time, there was a British officer by the name of DICKSON who lived in what is now Minnesota, and was in the employ of an English Fur Company. Knowing that young RENVILLE was energetic, he employed him as a "coureur des bois." While a mere stripling, he had guided his canoe from the Falls of Pokeguma to the Falls of St. Anthony, and followed the trails from Mendota to the Missouri. He knew by heart the legends of WINONA, and AMPATO SAPAWIN, and HOGAN-WANKE-KIN. He had distinguished himself as a brave, and also become identified with the Dakotas more fully by following in the footsteps of his father and purchasing a wife of that nation.

In 1797, he wintered in company with a Mr. PERLIER near Sauk Rapids. The late General PIKE was introduced

*The Kaposia band then lived on the east bank of the river.

to him at Prairie du Chien, and was conducted by him to the Falls of St. Anthony. This officer was pleased with him, and recommended him for the post U. S. Interpreter. In a letter to General WILKINSON, written at Mendota, Sept. 9, 1805, he says: "I beg leave to recommend for that appointment, a Mr. JOSEPH RENVILLE, who has served as interpreter for the Sioux last spring at the Illinois, and who has gratuitously and willingly served as my interpreter in all my conferences with the Sioux. He is a man respected by the Indians, and I believe an honest one."

At the breaking out of the last war with Great Britain, Col. DICKSON was employed by that Government to hire the warlike tribes of the North-West to fight against the United States. RENVILLE received from him the appointment and rank of Captain in the British army, and with warriors from the Wabasha, Kaposia, and other bands of Dakotas, marched to the American frontier. In 1813, he was present at the siege of Fort Meigs. One afternoon, while he was seated with WABASHA and the renowned PETIT CORBEAU, the grandfather of the present chief of the Kaposia band, an Indian presented himself and told the chiefs that they were wanted by the head men of the other nations that were there congregated. When they arrived at the rendezvous, they were surprised to find that the Winnebagoes had taken an American captive, and after roasting him, had apportioned his body in as many dishes as there were nations, and had invited them to participate in the feast. Both the chiefs and RENVILLE were indignant at this inhumanity, and Col. DICKSON being informed of the fact, the Winnebago who was the author of the outrage was turned out of the camp.

In 1815, he accompanied the Kaposia chief to Drummond's Island, who had been invited by the commandant of that post, to make him a visit. On their arrival, they were

informed by the officer, that he had sent for them to thank them in the name of his Majesty for the aid they had rendered during the war. He concluded by pointing to a large pile of goods, which he said were presents from Great Britain. PETIT CORBEAU replied that his people had been prevailed upon by the British to make war upon a people they scarcely knew and who had never done them any harm. "Now," continued the brave Kaposia chief, "after we have fought for you, under many hardships, lost some of our people and awakened the vengeance of our neighbors, you make peace for yourselves, and leave us to get such terms as we can, but no; we will not take them. We hold them and yourselves in equal contempt."

For a short period after the war, the subject of this memoir resided in Canada, and received the half pay of a British captain. He next entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, or North-West Company, whose posts extended to the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers. In winter, he resided with his family among the Dakotas; in summer, he visited his trading posts, which extended as far as the sources of the Red river.

In 1819, Col. SNELLING commenced the erection of the massive stone Fort at the junction of the Mississippi and Minnesota. From this time, RENVILLE became more acquainted with the people of the United States, and some of his posts being within the limits of the Republic, and there being great commotion in the Hudson's Bay Company, he with several other experienced trappers, established a new company in 1822, which they called the Columbia Fur Company. Of this new organization he was the presiding genius. When Major LONG arrived at Fort St. Anthony, as Snelling was then called, in the year 1823, he became acquainted with RENVILLE, and engaged him as the interpreter of the expedition to explore the Minnesota and Red River

of the North. The historian of the expedition, Professor KEATING, gave to the world one of the most interesting accounts of the Dakota nation that has ever been published, and he states that for most of the information he is indebted to the subject of this sketch.

Shortly after the Columbia Fur Company commenced its operations, the American Fur Company of New York, of which JOHN JACOB ASTOR was one of the Directors, not wishing any rivals in the trade, purchased their posts, and good will, and retained the "coureurs des bois." Under this new arrangement, RENVILLE removed to Lac-qui-Parle and erected a trading house, and here he resided until the end of his days.

Living as he had done for more than a half century among the Dakotas, over whom he exercised the most unbounded control, it is not surprising that in his advanced age he sometimes exhibited a domineering disposition. As long as Minnesota exists he should be known as one given to hospitality. He invariably showed himself to be a friend to the Indian, the traveler, and the missionary. Aware of the improvidence of his mother's race, he used his influence towards the raising of grain. He was instrumental in having the first seed corn planted on the Upper Minnesota. An Indian never left his house hungry, and they delighted to do him honor. He was a friend to the traveler. His conversation was intelligent, and he constantly communicated facts that were worthy of record. His post obtained a reputation among explorers, and their last day's journey to it was generally a quick march, for they felt sure of a warm welcome. His son was the interpreter of NICOLLET, that worthy man of science who explored this country in connection with FREMONT. This gentleman in his report to Congress pays the following tribute to the father and son:

"I may stop a while to say, that the residence of the

RENVILLE family, for a number of years back, has afforded the only retreat to travelers to be found between St. Peter's and the British posts, a distance of 700 miles. The liberal and untiring hospitality dispensed by this respectable family, the great influence exercised by it over the Indians of this country in the maintainance of peace and the protection of travelers, would demand, besides our gratitude, some especial acknowledgment of the United States, and also from the Hudson's Bay Company."

The only traveler that has ever given any testimony opposed to this, is FEATHERSTONHAUGH, a dyspeptic and growling Englishman, whose book, published in London in 1847, and styled a "Canoe Voyage up the Minnay Sotor," betrays a filthy imagination. He remarks:

"On reaching the Fort, RENVILLE advanced and saluted me, but not cordially. He was a dark, Indian-looking person, showing no white blood, short in his stature, with strong features and coarse, black hair. * * * * * I learnt that RENVILLE entertained a company of stout Indians to the number of fifty, in a skin lodge behind his house, of extraordinary dimensions, whom he calls his braves, or soldiers. To these men he confided various trusts, and occasionally sent them to distant points to transact his business. No doubt he was a very intriguing person and uncertain in his attachments. Those who knew him intimately, supposed him inclined to the British allegiance, although he professes great attachment to the American Government, a circumstance, however, which did not prevent him from being under the surveillance of the garrison at Fort Snelling."

He was also a friend to the Missionary of the Cross. Until the year 1834, no minister of the Church made arrangements to devote his life to the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Dakotas.

In the year 1687 and 1689, Father MAREST and another Jesuit made excursions among them, and one of them told the historian, CHARLEVOIX, that he regretted he did not succeed in establishing a mission. He described them as docile, gentle and intelligent. A very

few years after, the opinion of MAREST was entirely changed. In a letter dated Nov. 11, 1712, while he was a missionary among the Kaskaskias, he says: "We found a canoe of the Scioux, broken in some places, * * * * We were greatly alarmed. * * * * * These Scioux are the most cruel of all the Indians, and we should have been lost had we fallen into their hands." During the French dominion, ecclesiastics never had permanent missions except in the vicinity of fortified trading posts.

The Rev. T. S. WILLIAMSON, of the Presbytery of Chillicothe, arrived at Fort Snelling in 1834; then returned to the East, and in 1835 came back with assistant missionaries. RENVILLE warmly welcomed him, and rendered invaluable assistance in the establishment of the missions. Upon the arrival of the missionaries at Lacqui-Parle, he provided them with a temporary home. He acted as interpreter, he assisted in translating the scriptures, and removed many of the prejudices of the Indians against the teachers of the white man's religion. His name appears in connection with several Dakota books. Dr. WATTS' second catechism for children, published in Boston in 1837, by CROCKER & BREWSTER, was partly translated by him.

In 1839, a volume of extracts from the Old Testament, and a volume containing the Gospel of MARK, was published by KENDALL & HENRY, Cincinnati, the translation of which was given orally by Mr. RENVILLE, and penned by Dr. WILLIAMSON. CROCKER & BREWSTER in 1842 published DAKOTA DOWANPI KIN, or Dakota Hymns, many of which were composed by the subject of this sketch. The following tribute to his ability as a translator, appeared in the Missionary Herald of 1846, published at Boston:

"Mr. RENVILLE was a remarkable man, and he was

remarkable for the energy with which he pursued such objects as he deemed of primary importance. His power of observing and remembering facts, and also words expressive of simple ideas was extraordinary. Though in his latter years he could read a little, yet in translating he seldom took a book in his hand, choosing to depend on hearing rather than sight, and I have often had occasion to observe, that after hearing a long and unfamiliar verse read from the scriptures, he would immediately render it from the French into Dakota, two languages extremely unlike in their idioms and idea of the words, and repeat it over two or three words at a time, so as to give full opportunity to write it down. He also had a remarkable tact in discovering the aim of a speaker, and conveying the intended impression, when many of the ideas and words were such as had nothing corresponding to them in the minds and language of the addressed. These qualities fitted him for an interpreter, and it was generally admitted he had no equal."

It would be improper to conclude this article without some remarks upon the religious character of RENVILLE. Years before there was a clergyman in Minnesota he took his Indian wife to Prairie du Chien and was married in accordance with Christian rites, by a minister of the Roman Church. Before he became acquainted with missionaries, he sent to New York for a large folio Bible in the French language, and requested those connected with him in the fur trade to procure for him a clerk who could read it. After the commencement of the Mission at Lac-qui-Parle, his wife was the first full Dakota that joined the Church of CHRIST, of whom we have any record. She was also the first Dakota that died in the Christian faith. Before she had ever seen a teacher of the religion of CHRIST, through the instruction

of her husband, she had renounced the gods of the Dakotas. The following is an extract from a translation of Mr. RENVILLE'S account of his wife's death: "Now, to-day, you seem very much exhausted, and she said 'yes; this day, now God invites me. I am remembering JESUS CHRIST who suffered for me, and depending on him alone. To-day I shall stand before God, and will ask him for mercy for you and all my children, and all my kinsfolk.'"

Afterwards, when all her children and relatives sat round her weeping, she said "it is holy day, sing and pray." From early in the morning, she was speaking of God, and telling her husband what to do. Thus she died "when the clock struck two."

Like NICODEMUS, one of the rulers of Israel, he loved to inquire in relation to spiritual things. Of independent mind, he claimed and exercised the right of private judgment in matters of faith.

In 1841, he was chosen and ordained a ruling Elder, and from that time, till his death, discharged the duties of his office in a manner acceptable and profitable both to the native members of the Church and the mission.

After a sickness of some days, in March, 1846, his strong frame began to give evidence of speedy decay. He was aware he was soon to take "his chamber in the silent halls of death," but he knew "in whom he had believed," and went,

> "Not like a quarry-slave, at night,
> Scourged to his dungeon; but sustained and soothed,
> Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
> About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams!"

Dr. WILLIAMSON thus narrates the death scene: "The evening before his decease, he asked me what became of the soul immediately after death. I reminded him of our Saviour's words to the thief on the cross, and PAUL'S

desire to depart and be with CHRIST. He said, 'That is sufficient,' and presently added, I have great hope I shall be saved through grace.' Next morning (Sunday) about eight o'clock, I was called to see him. He was so evidently in the agonies of death; I did not think of attempting to do anything for him. After some time, his breathing becoming easier, he was asked if he wished to hear a hymn. He replied, 'Yes.' After it was sung he said, 'It is very good.' As he reclined on the bed, I saw a sweet serenity settling on his countenance, and I thought that his severest struggle was probably past, and so it proved. The clock striking ten, he looked at it and intimated that it was time for us to go to church As we were about to leave, he extended his withered hand. After we left, he spoke some words of exhortation to his family, then prayed and before noon calmly and quietly yielded up his spirit."

Sixty-seven years passed by, before he closed his eyes upon the world. The citizens of Kentucky delight in the memory of DANIEL BOONE; let the citizens of Minnesota not forget JOSEPH RENVILLE, though he was a "bois brule."

SAINT PAUL, 1853.

DEPARTMENT OF HUDSON'S BAY.

See p. 224.

BY REV. G. A. BELCOURT.*

The discovery of America, by CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, in 1496, gave a new impulse to the spirit of enterprize. From that period, bold navigators launched fearlessly out into the broad bosom of the ocean, and continued to make, from time to time, new discoveries in the field which had been laid open to them by the noble and devoted perseverance of their great predecessor.

It was about the year 1607, that the celebrated navigator, HENRY HUDSON, then in the employ of the English, discovered the magnificent Bay to which he gave his name; and in 1611, pursuing his researches, he penetrated five hundred leagues farther north than any traveler had done before him. It was this same year that two missionaries, Fathers MASSE and BIART, arrived in Canada.

Some time after this period, the English, in order to profit by the discoveries which had been made in their name by HUDSON, commenced some settlements in the vicinity of Hudson's Bay, and entered into a kind of traffic for furs with the Indians, who descended, during the summer season, the various streams which pour their waters into this Bay, bringing with them these trophies of their success in the chase.

These settlers built at first only a few houses in which to pass the winter. Here, they suffered greatly from the scurvy which broke out among them. But the strong desire of

*Translated from the French by Mrs. LETITIA MAY.

gain which actuated them, rendered them regardless alike of the ravages of disease and the rigor of the climate.

The French of Canada wished also to establish themselves in this region, pretending that, as that country formed a part of the same continent as New France, they had the right to trade with the natives that high up and even higher. Several of their adventurers had penetrated as far north as the Bay of Hudson, as early as the year 1656, and in the intermediate time between that and the year 1680, when GROSEILLERS and RADISSON left Quebec for the above named Bay with two vessels, which were but poorly equipped for such an expedition. The persons engaged in this enterprize only succeeded in erecting a few forts, whence they sallied forth and attacked the English settlements in the neighborhood, and were in their turn attacked by them; thus exhibiting in the horrors of civilization more cruelty than the savages with whom they had come to trade.— Such have been, at every period, among the sad effects of an inordinate love of gain. These dissensions between the English and the French did not cease till the ratification of the treaty of Utrecht.

The disease and dangers to which they were exposed in these perilous enterprizes, caused the French to take with them, on such occasions, a confessor; and it was in this capacity that Father DELMAS, a Jesuit and native of Tours, embarked for Hudson's Bay. When he arrived there, he offered to remain in the fort, in order to serve as father confessor to the garrison which was left there; and at the same time, to learn the language of the natives, so that he might afterwards be enabled to announce to them the Gospel of a Savior. The following year, the vessel which was to bring provisions to these persons, not being able to effect an entrance into the Bay, the larger number of them perished from hunger and disease. But the death of the first missionary to this country was still more tragical.

Only eight men had survived in the fort, five of whom having gone out to hunt in the snow to procure the means of subsistence, left in the fort, Father DELMAS, a surgeon, and a tailor. Upon their return about five days afterwards, they were surprised at not finding either the surgeon or the priest. They questioned the tailor as to what had become of his companions, and the confusion he betrayed in his answers, together with some marks of blood which they discovered on the snow, determined them to seize him and place him in irons. This miserable wretch, seeing himself under arrest, and pressed by the remorse of his conscience, revealed the whole story of his guilt. He said he had long nourished bitter feelings towards the surgeon, and had taken advantage of their absence to wreak his malice, which he did by murdering him one morning, and dragging his body to the river, threw it into the water, through a hole in the ice, which he had cut for the purpose. This being effected, he returned to the fort and sought for the priest, whom he found in the chapel, preparing to say mass. He requested an interview with him; but the holy father told him to wait till he should have performed the duty in which he was then engaged.

The mass being finished, the murderer discovered to the priest all that he had done, testifying his despair, and the fear he had that when their companions should return to the fort, they would put him to death for his crime. "That is not what you have the most to fear," replied the father, "Our number is too small, and we need your services too much, for you to dread anything from your companions; and I promise to oppose as much as I can their molesting you.—But I exhort you to recognize the enormity of your crime before God, and repent sincerely for having committed so heinous an offence against his law. Let it be your care to appease the anger of God, and I will take care to appease

that of your fellow-men." The holy father added, that if the culprit wished it, he would go out to meet the hunters and try to soften their feelings of resentment in advance, and induce them to promise him that they would not punish him as his crime merited.

The priest started out to do as he proposed: but he was hardly gone, when the fears of the miserable tailor returned with double power. He began to think that the priest was deceiving him; and that his real object in going was to prepare the others, so that they might the more surely execute condign punishment upon him. He determined upon the execution of a second crime to try and hide the first; and seizing his gun and axe, he ran after the priest calling to him to stop; and when he came near enough, he discharged the contents of his gun at him, and wounded him. The poor priest to escape the fury of this monster, threw himself upon a mass of ice which floated in the river. The furious wretch pursued him, and struck him repeated blows with his axe till he had killed him, and then threw his body into the river. In a few minutes after his return to the fort, the hunters came in, and seeing all these suspicious circumstances, threw him into chains, when he confessed all.

They resolved to keep him in chains until the arrival of the vessel upon which they were to embark; but before any assistance reached them, the fort was attacked by the English. This little garrison made a brave resistance, and kept up so furious a discharge from their artillery that the enemy were led to believe that their number was considerable, and retired to reinforce themselves; after which, they returned again to the attack. The besieged seeing that resistance would be vain, retired secretly through an opening which had been made by a cannon, and passed into the woods, leaving the tailor alone, bound as he was. Of his

subsequent fate nothing is known. Of the five men who escaped from the fort, only two succeeded, after great hardships and fatigue, in reaching Montreal; and it is from them that we have these details.

The tragical fate of this missionary did not deter another, Father SYLVIE, from going also some time after, to the Bay of Hudson, to preach the gospel to the savages. But he lost his health in the undertaking, and was soon obliged to return to Quebec; where he never recovered from his sickness, but died a victim to his zeal in a good cause.

This defeat of the French in the Bay of Hudson, did not remain without vengeance. In 1695, M. D'IBERVILLE, a celebrated French captain, then in Canada, received orders to take possession of some English posts on the shores of Hudson's Bay. Two vessels of war were consequently equipped for the purpose; and Father SEVIGNY was appointed confessor. He was the third missionary who went to Hudson's Bay. One of the English forts was taken in its turn without a blow. Two years afterwards this fort was re-taken by the English, and Father SEVIGNY made prisoner, and carried to England, whence he passed over into France, and thence returned to Canada. These mutual hostilities extended to Fort Albany, on James' Bay; which was taken and re-taken several times. The celebrated Chevalier SEVIS, who gave his name to Point Sevis at Quebec, distinguished himself particularly at this place. This warrior would have rendered himself justly celebrated, if, overcome by resentment unworthy of a great man, he had not betrayed the interests of his country and turned his arms against her.

More than one-third part of the waters contained in the immense basin of Hudson's Bay, are brought in by a single river, called at that time Bourbon River by the French, and Nelson River by the English.

The result of these wars between the two contending people was, that the English obtained the sole occupancy of the neighborhood of Hudson's Bay, and both shores of Nelson River. But many French companies, established partly at Montreal, continued the commerce in furs; which they practiced almost exclusively in all the rest of the north-western part of North America, extending their expeditions even so far as the Rocky Mountains. Many places in these regions still retain the names of celebrated personages and houses which existed at the time of their discovery; as for instance, Lake Bourbon, Dauphin River, Fort la Reine; and a missionary, of whom I have not been able to learn the name, made several days march up the river Saskadjiwan, (*Kisiskadjiwan, current which turns round.*)

A tradition of the savages near the Lake of the Woods, reports that the French travelers in passing, were invariably accompanied by a missionary; and that one of them was killed on this same lake, and his companions all either killed or drowned. The following is the manner in which they relate this occurrence: Early one morning, a French canoe, manned with eight men, left a trading house, which the French had built about the middle of the Lake of the Woods, and stopped upon an island near to the last pass, to enter the river of Rainy Lake. The atmosphere was so still that the wind could hardly be felt. Having built a fire, to take their repast, the smoke rose up, and was perceived by a party of Sioux warriors, who were approaching the same island, by a branch of the river of Rainy Lake, called *The road of War.* These having landed on the opposite side of the isle unperceived by the French, fell upon them unawares, and massacred the missionary and some of his companions; the others, throwing themselves into the water, in order to cross

over to some other islands, were drowned. This event took place, according to the report of the savages, about the year 1750.

Although the desire of all these missionaries had been to learn the language of the different natives among whom they traveled, in order to be useful to them, as well as to the white traders, it does not appear that any of them remained long enough in any place to acquire that knowledge, or establish any permanent mission. The Cavalier McKENZIE criticises the course they pursued to civilize the Indians as not being one proper to enable them to succeed in their design; but I think his criticism is bolder than just; for the history of the Society of JESUS, in the two Americas, proves the wisdom of their measures. And the success of all their missions, has gained the applause of all those who have visited them. I am disposed rather to think that the reason that they established no permanent missions in these remote regions is, that about the time they thought of forming them their Order was suspended, and the Society with the true spirit of obedience renounced all their enterprises, and gave up the houses they had already established into the hands of the bishops of the dioceses wherever they found themselves.

We have no evidence that the French ascended higher up than three days march above Lake Bourbon, along the river Pas, or Saskadjiwan. The first who left Canada with views of commerce in this country, was THOMAS OURRY, who ascended the river Saskadjiwan in 1766. Up to this time the Canadian traders did not venture any higher up than Grand Portage, at the northern extremity of Lake Superior. His voyage, which proved to be very profitable, encouraged others to follow his example. JAMES FINLEY made a voyage also which was

equally as happy. But as these adventurers, in traveling thus far into the interior, intercepted the furs which had before this time been brought by the Indians to Hudson's Bay, the English traders became jealous of them and advanced further into the interior. From this we date the commencement of a long series of disorders and excesses, of which the details were the more revolting, as the certainty of impunity gave free course to all the passions.

JOSEPH FROBISHER undertook to penetrate farther than any of his predecessors had done, and went as far as Churchill, which is beyond 59° of latitude. The following year, his brother went as far as *L' Isle a la Crosse*. In 1778, PETER POND entered English river, thus called by FROBISHER, and pursued his course to the River L' Orignal, where he passed the winter. One day after he had made some of the Indians drunk, he was so annoyed by them that to rid himself of their importunity, he gave one of them so large a dose of laudanum that he was plunged into an eternal sleep. This murder cost the life of a trader and all of his assistants. And any trader, or any white man, who would have dared to show his face in this place, or on the Assiniboine river, would have fallen a victim to the sanguinary vengeance of these exasperated savages, had not the small pox broken out among them, and produced a diversion in favor of the whites. This dreadful scourge spread terror and desolation among all these people. Whoever was not attacked by it fled into the most profound depths of the forest, far from the presence of the whites. About two-thirds of their population perished. Their corpses lay on the ground; the masters became the food of their own dogs or of the wolves. From this period is dated also the army of the great picotte (quarrel.) This was about 1780.

This same year, PETER POND formed a partnership with Mr. WADIN. These two men were of a character too opposite to be united, as it soon appeared. In a festival given by POND to WADIN, the latter was killed by the former, who shot him in the thigh with a pistol. The ball broke the artery, the hemorrhage from which could not be stopped; so he died. POND was tried and acquitted at Montreal; but he was not acquitted in the eyes of the people who heard of the transaction. And in general, the judgment pronounced in his case was considered as unheard of, or as containing too much of the mysterious to do honor to the judge who pronounced it.

In 1781, four canoes filled with traders, went up as high as "*Portage de la Loche*," some high lands between the Saskadijwan river and the Polar Sea. At last, in 1783, was formed the company, which has since become so famous, under the name of the North Western Company. The first factors were BENJAMIN and JOSEPH FROBISHER, and SIMON MCTAVISH. It was first composed of sixteen partners. P. POND and P. PANGMAN refused to join it, though the former changed his mind the next year. P. PANGMAN joined with GREGORY, MCLEOD and MCKENZIE in 1785.

These opposing interests were the cause of disorders of every kind; so much so, that these companies rendered themselves despicable even in the eyes of the savages, who were astonished to find that their own manners were much better than those of men, whom in other respects they regarded as being greatly superior to themselves. In one of these difficulties, GREGORY saw one of his companions killed before his eyes, and several of their assistants wounded. It was easy to be conceived, that their common interest demanded a sincere and cordial union. This they comprehended somewhat later; and at last in 1787 all these companies united together, and thus increased the number of

partners to 26. The 40,000 pounds sterling, which their commerce yielded them at that time, was trebled in less than eleven years. In 1798, the company increased the number to 46, which caused some dissatisfaction, and led a small number of them to form a separate company. Nevertheless the Northwest Company had become too powerful to dread any such divisions. It continued to prosper, in spite even of the opposition of the Hudson Bay Company.

This last company took advantage, as it still does, of a charter granted by CHARLES II, to his cousin RUPERT. This document, although illegal according to the British constitution, has been strongly sustained. It grants the most absolute powers, and concedes a sovereignty more despotic than CHARLES himself possessed. Though the governmental department has sufficiently expressed themselves upon the subject of the illegality of this contract, yet the friends of this company have always been so powerful as to prevent any official declaration to this effect, by contending that the subject should first undergo a discussion in court. Thus, those who are opposed to the pretentions of this company, not having enough of money to sustain the process; fearing that gold and favor would prove the stronger argument, find themselves obliged to submit to a usurpation which they cannot prevent.

Though they complained of these abuses a few years ago by petition, which was ably sustained at London, and which occasioned a great deal of excitement in England, the only effect produced here, was to abate in a small degree the boldness of the pretentions of this company, which tended to a perfect tyranny. In proof of this, I will adduce a few instances of their impositions: On one occasion, they seized the effects of a hunter, upon suspicion that he might exchange some of them with the Indians for furs. On another occasion they caused a hunter to be imprisoned for having given

one of his overcoats to a naked Indian, for about its value in rat skins. They also refuse to allow the missionaries to receive furs to sustain the expenses of public worship; whilst the Indians cannot obtain any money from the company for their furs; and forbid the missionaries to buy leather or skins to protect their feet from the cold. These, and a thousand other grievances call so loudly for redress, that I think a small increase of the burden will cause the evil to correct itself.

About the year 1812, the North West Company had more than sixty trading posts west of the longitude of Lake Bourbon, and as high up as Slave Lake, where they sustained a prosperous commerce. This success only inflamed still more the jealousy of the Hudson Bay Company. Everything that could be imagined, to discourage their adversaries or hinder their prosperity, was resorted to without scruple or the least regard to human life. They went so far as to burn up their bark canoes and destroy their traps which were in the water, the sole means of subsistence in many places.

Among other tragical adventures, I relate the following: Nineteen travelers came from Canada to join the company of BOURGEOIS. Mr. B. * * * * They all died of misery and hunger. Mr. B. himself survived through the assistance of Mr. LAVORD, a half-breed and expert hunter. Another traveler survived in a most mysterious manner. It was suspected that he had lived upon the dead bodies of his companions who had perished. After this catastrophe, Mr. B. found himself most happy that his dog had outlived these days of misery.

The hostilities which existed between the two companies assumed a more formal aspect about the time of the establishment of the colony of Lord SELKIRK, that is, from 1812 to 1816. In 1815, eatables being very scarce in the establishment, the governor of the colony issued an order, for-

bidding any one to take any provisions whatever of food, out of the boundary of the colony. Now it was well known that the company of the North West, ought to try to send provisions through this colony, for the numerous travelers who were coming from Montreal, and who depended upon their succor, to enable them either to continue their route or return to Canada. The agents of this company having been informed in time, of the order of the governor of the colony through which they had to pass, when they were descending the river Assiniboine, halted before they entered the territory of the colony, and sent a detachment of cavalry, composed of half-breeds, under the control of CUTHBERT GRANT, at that time clerk of this company, with orders to go by land to the mouth of Red River, in order to escort the canoes of provisions which were expected down every day. Though they made a large circuit in compassing the angle formed by the Assiniboine and Red Rivers, this company of half-breeds were recognized from the fort of the colony, when they reached the mouth of the river Assiniboine. Immediately upon seeing them, Governor SEMPLE ordered out two pieces of cannon, and sent in great haste to assemble the settlers in the neighborhood, and without waiting for them to come together, took the field with such persons as he could collect at the moment. The half-breeds, who saw from a distance these movements near the fort, stopped to make observations. At last seeing an armed force coming out against them, they prepared to make vigorous resistance, with orders, nevertheless, not to make an attack. When the English came within gun shot, Mr. GRANT sent a cavalier in advance to make some arrangement with the governor; but the messenger, far from being listened to, received a discharge from a gun, which he avoided only by precipitating himself from his horse. He then hastened back to his companions. A combat immediately commenced, which

lasted only a few hours, and was so well conducted on the part of the half-breeds, that it cost them only one man; whilst on the part of the English, the governor and nineteen of his men lay on the field of battle.

This took place in the spring of 1816, at the time that Lord SELKIRK, who had come to reside in Canada, was on his way to visit his colony. He was encamped at the entremity of Lake Superior, on an isle called "*Ile de Traverse*" opposite, though at a distance from Fort William, the principal depot of the North Western Company, when he learned the news of what had taken place at Red River, and the death of his protege, Governor SEMPLE. As he was escorted by a company of veterans, he re-embarked with the intention of taking Fort William, which he effected without a blow; for as his approach was unsuspected, he found the gates open. He thus took possession of this post and passed the winter there.

The next spring, he visited his colony, where he left some soldiers, and returned to Canada by way of the United States. After his arrival at Montreal, he instituted a suit against the North-Western Company, much to the satisfaction of the Bar, both of Upper and Lower Canada, who were the only persons benefited by it; for the case was removed to England, where it was never judged, after having cost enormous sums.

During his sojourn at Red River, Lord SELKIRK had remarked that this little community were altogether destitute of the principles of religion and morals; accordingly, he suggested to the Catholics of the place that they should address a petition to the Bishop of Quebec, to send them a missionary. His Grace JOSEPH OCTAVE PLESSIE, then Bishop of Quebec, granted their request most willingly, and sent them, the following spring, 1818, Mr. JOSEPH NORB'T PROVENCHER, then curate of Kamouraska, as his Grand Vicar,

and Mr. S. J. N. DUMOULIN, then Vicar of Quebec. Having quitted Montreal the 19th of May, they reached the place of their destination the 16th of July.

At their arrival, the colony was the emblem of misery.—They had not yet tried to plant, except with the hoe, and that only to procure seed for the following year. During two consecutive years, the grasshoppers made such devastation among the crops, that they did not even gather seed, and were obliged to send for them to Prairie du Chien, on the Mississippi river, about a thousand miles distant. They also brought chickens from that place, which multiplied very rapidly. The crop of 1822 was passable, but the rats caused great destruction. As they had not yet procured cats, the country was infested by these vermin.

As the few animals brought from Europe by the Scotch Colonies, had been destroyed during the troubles of the preceding years, they were obliged to procure some from Prairie du Chien. Some individuals imported several pairs of oxen, and some cows. At that time, a cow sold for £25. In 1825, an American drove four or five hundred oxen and cows to that place. The cows sold at from £4 to £10 each. Their number has since considerably increased.

In 1825, the snow fell the 15th of October in great quantity, and remained on the ground. Still more fell during the winter, which was one of the coldest which had passed for twenty-five years. The snow melted suddenly about the last of April. The water had already risen in the streams as high as the banks, when the ice, which had scarcely diminished in thickness, was dragged away by the violence of the current, and taking a straight course, rooted up trees and demolished edifices and whatever found itself in its way. The water rose five feet in the church of St. Boniface, nearly opposite the mouth of the river Assiniboine, which is one of the most elevated spots in that vicinity.

The fish, the principal resource of the inhabitants at this season of the year, were dispersed in this immense extent of water, and the fishermen were not able to take them.— To crown their misfortunes, the bison that were ordinarily found in abundance near the river Pembina, went away, and about fifteen persons who had calculated on this resource, perished from hunger. The waters did not retire entirely till the 20th of July; when some persons risked sowing barley, which came to maturity.

After so many scourges of different kinds, one would think that the survivors would have been ready to abandon forever a country which offered only disasters and difficulties. Some of them did indeed leave and go to the United States; others lived like the savages, by hunting and fishing, for several years, after which they returned to the culture of the earth; at last, having had good crops during several years, the remembrance of their misfortunes was effaced. The same scourge has not visited the place in a general manner till this year, 1852. The water raised a foot higher than in 1826, and the losses occasioned by it are still greater an more difficult to repair. A greater quantity of fencing, grain, and property of all kinds, has been carried away and destroyed by the water; then, the lumber being all destroyed or carried away to some distance from the colony, the expenses of building are much more considerable. We at St. Joseph's of Pembina, are beyond the reach of these misfortunes.

We have seen that the visit of Lord SELKIRK, to Red river, occasioned missionaries to be sent to that colony. The process which was instituted against the North Western Company, though never judged, was also productive of some favorable results. The great expense of sustaining this process, joined to those occasioned by the constant opposition of a rival interest, and still more, weariness of a life of incessant contentions, induced these two companies to unite,

under the name and privileges of the Hudson Bay Company. Some of the members of the North Western Company, not willing to be known under a title which they had despised, preferred to retire from the commerce.

The union of these two companies took place in 1822. Since that period, the profits of the company have been very great; but, on the other hand, the people of the country have suffered by it in inverse proportion. The price of furs as well as that of merchandise given in exchange, was regulated entirely by the company. The seller came and deposited his furs, and took from the trader's store, in exchange, such things as he wished; beginning by the articles of first necessity, and stopping when he was told he had enough. This absolute power engendered, as can be readily conceived, many abuses. The traders, seeing the people so submissive, became arrogant, and gave themselves up, without any shame, to every excess of immorality. At last, missionaries being sent out in every direction, men who had been civilized were made to remember their first education; a reform of conduct was the result, and honesty recovered its rights.

There was a mission formed near the Rocky mountains, above the river Saskadjiwan, on the little lake of Manitou. It was established in 1843, by Mr. J. BAPTISTE THIBAULT, a priest of the Diocese of Quebec, who lived there till 1851. He left in his place, Mr. BOURASSA, a priest of the same Diocese of Quebec. Another mission was since formed at the Isle of La Crosse, by Mr. S. LAFLECHE, a priest of the District of Three Rivers, and Mr. ALS TACHE, a priest of the Diocese of Montreal. They both received a mission for this post, where they rendered themselves in 1845. Since that time, several priests of the Society of Oblats of Marseilles, have been sent on a mission to these mountains. Father FARAUD has penetrated farther north than any of

the others. He went as far as Great Slave Lake. Chapels for worship have been erected in each one of these missions. Among all these churches, only one (the Cathedral of St. Boniface) is built of stone; all the others are wooden edifices.

The parish of St. Francis Xavier, of *Prairie du Cheval Blanc*, [White Horse Plains,] about 18 miles from the mouth of the river Assiniboine, existed as early as 1830. This spot is the least exposed to inundation of all the surrounding country. This parish is composed of emigrants from Pembina, where there were several commercial houses, and quite a number of farmers. But when Maj. LONG, of the United States, had verified the point of the 49° degree of latitude, Pembina proving to be on the American territory, the Hudson Bay Company caused the whole population to remove to their side, by menacing them with a refusal to let them have any supplies from their stores if they remained. Their missionary, Mr. DUMOULIN, being returned to Canada, the whole colony finished by emigrating, though very reluctantly, to *Prairie du Cheval Blanc.*

Twelve miles higher up on the river Assiniboine, I built a chapel among the Saulteurs, where I had a very flourishing mission from 1832 till 1848, when I quitted this diocese to go to Pembina. During this time I built another chapel, and founded a farm about 300 miles from the colony, towards the east, at a point called Wabassimong, on the River Winipik. This mission was committed to the Oblats of Marseilles the year before I left it. At last being arrived at Pembina, in 1849, I constructed a chapel on Red River, a mile below the mouth of Pembina River, on the most advantageous site we could select. The inundations having decided us to establish ourselves near to Mount Pembina, about 40 miles from Red River, I built another chapel of wood, 50 feet by 25, two stories high.

I would give you an account of the labors of the Protestant clergy, but I suppose you have received information on the subject from themselves. Suffice it for me to say, that the total population of the colony of Selkirk is about 7,000 souls, of which a little more than one-half are Catholics, the others are divided between the Church of England, Presbyterians and Methodists. There is on Red River but one society of nuns not cloistered. These came from Canada; and are of the order of the Sisters of Charity called "Grey Nuns" (*Soeurs-Grises*). Though instruction was not the object of their institution, they have been invited to this calling, and have fulfilled its important functions with success since their arrival in 1844.

MANNERS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTRY.

The population of the country divides itself into three classes, viz: The colonists who came from Canada or Europe; the half-breeds and their children, and the savages. The Canadians and the Europeans have brought with them that spirit of nationality which leads them to esteem themselves above the other inhabitants—half breeds, &c. For the first, nothing is so good as at Montreal; for the others, nothing is like London. The half breeds being more numerous, and endowed with uncommon health and strength, esteem themselves the lords of the land. Though they hold the middle place between civilized and savage life, one can say, that in respect to morality, they are as good as many civilized people. Their character is gentle and benevolent. Their greatest vice is prodigality; they have also an extreme tendency to the use of strong drinks; nevertheless, the vivacity of their faith has wrought wonders among them in this respect. A number of them have taken a pledge to abstain entirely from the use of all intoxicating liquors; and many others, without having done as much, still hold themselves within just bounds. Generally speaking, ex-

cesses of this kind are rare; nevertheless it is to be wished that the Hudson Bay Company could be made to appreciate how glorious it would be for them to cease to import intoxicating liquors into the country. But their insatiability of gain is such that there is no danger that either humanity or honor should ever have weight with them. Such a traffic, in a savage country like this, is an abomination against which the bishops and ministers have always expostulated in vain. Though the half breeds lose much of their time in idleness, I do not think this owes its origin to the vice of indolence, but rather to the absence of all commercial interests; that is to say, to the want of enterprises passably lucrative, or of rewards sufficiently inviting to make them sustain the fatigues of labor. For they are capable of enduring to an astonishing degree the most horrible fatigues; and they undertake them with the greatest cheerfulness when circumstances call for it. They love gaming, but have no great passion for it; and it is rare that any one of them delivers himself to any excess in this vice. They have a taste for music; and above all for the violin; and a great many of them know how to play. They have a tendency to superstition, which arises from their origin; particularly in respect to dreams. Though religion teaches them what they ought to think about these things, they feel invincibly impressed with a sentiment of hope or fear, according to the nature of the dream. The third class of the population of the country are the savages, who have a still stronger spirit of nationality than the other two, though they admit that they are not so skillful in other respects.

The immense valley that empties its waters into Hudson Bay is inhabited by a great number of savage tribes, who all spring from four mother nations, absolutely distinguished from each other by their language.

1st. All the people who border on the northern sea, from

McKenzie's river to the Atlantic ocean, belong to the tribe of the Esquimaux. All speak nearly the same language, have the same usages, same superstitions, and the same manners. Small in stature, their physiogomy is entirely characteristic; and offers nothing which attaches itself to the other American nations. They never form any alliances with other nations; who regard them as being as far inferior to them, as they themselves are inferior to the white. The name of the Esquimaux is a corruption of the word Weashkimek, *the eaters of raw fish*; this word is Saulteur. They have like the other savage nations, the use of the drum. Their habitations are usually made of snow or ice, and are warmer than one would be tempted to believe: but they have a humidity which is insupportable to any person not born in them. As they drink whale oil with great delight, they expose themselves to great dangers to catch this animal; which proves that they are not destitute of bravery. Without occupying themselves with the reflection that the fisherman and his canoe would make only a mouthful for one of these marine monsters, over whom they often pass in the chase of the whale; nor that with one blow of his tail, the whale himself, could throw them to the third heaven, like to the feeble bird, which strikes with its bill the crow who comes to deprive it of its young, they throw their slight darts at the back of the enormous fish, till they have rendered themselves masters of it. As no missionary has ever lived among this people, it is impossible to form any just estimate of their mental capacities.

2d. The nation of Montagnes, who are divided into several different tribes, are the neighbors of the Esquimaux, and inhabit a strip of land parallel to theirs, from the Rocky mountains to the neighborhood of Hudson's Bay, and extending southward to the river Saskadjiwan. They are perhaps of all the savages of America, the only ones

who have no kind of superstition or worship of imaginary beings. Great admirers of the whites, they imitate them as much as they can. This natural disposition, joined to the absence of all religious prejudice, has given to the missionaries who are sent there, every advantage they could desire. They are now nearly all Christians, excepting a certain number of families whom the bonds of polygamy, which they find difficult to break, hold still at a distance.

The name of Montagne is not a translation of the savage word *Wetshipweyanah—having the dress pointed*—because the cap, which covers their heads, is pointed and sewed to a cloak or sack which they wear, which under certain points of view makes them appear pointed at the top. This word is also of the Saulteurs language. They live by hunting the cariboo, and some by hunting the bison; and on the fish with which all their lakes abound. These people are not warlike, no more than the Esquimaux.

3d. The Crees who inhabit the two sides of the river Saskadjiwan, and with whom we should join all the Mashkegons, who belong to the same family, and who extend in all the country which borders the Bay of Hudson on the west, south and east, in a word, all the marshy country. The mother nation of these two numerous tribes seem to be the nation of the Saulteuse, which extends from Canada to the river Saskadjiwan, where they are mixed with the Crees, and are known under the name of *Nakkawinininiwuk*—the men of divers races. The word Crees is also not a translation of the savage word *Kinishtinak*—being held by the winds. That is to say, the inhabitants of those places, where the slightest wind keeps them from travelling: from whence it appears, that the Crees originally inhabited the shores of the great lakes, such as Lake Superior; perhaps, also, certain portions of the Lake of the Woods, which one

cannot cross except when the weather is very calm, and which they certainly inhabited at one time.

The word Mashkegon is a corruption of Omashkekok,—the inhabitants of the marshes. The only way of traveling in all the immense region which they inhabit, is in canoes. I have met old men, in traveling through their country, who had never seen a horse.

The word Saulteur, which seems to have been given to this nation from their having a long time inhabited the Sault Ste. Marie, is not a translation of the savage name Odjibwek. This word has been the object of a great many suppositions: Some say it was given to this nation on account of the form of their plaited shoes—*teibwa*, plaited; but this interpretation is not admissible, for the word does not contain the least allusion to shoes. Others say that it comes from the form the mouth assumes in pronouncing certain words, wishing always to hold on to the adjective *teibwa*; this is not more satisfactory. It is not uncommon that a word is somewhat changed when applied to a man or a nation. I could give a number of examples of this. I would venture then to say that the word Odjibwek comes from Shibwe; in order to make a proper noun Oshibwek, in the plural the pronouncing slowly of *shib*—root, to draw out; that is to say, to lengthen out a word by the slow pronunciation of its syllables; the particle *we* signifying articulate, pronounce; the *k* is an animated plural, which here can only be applied to men. In truth, the pronunciation of the Saulteuse characterizes them in an eminent manner.—The Ottawas, the Algonquins, the *Tetes de Boule*, the Montagnes of Canada, are so many tribes which belong to the same family. We must not confound the Montagnes of Canada with those of the North, who have nothing in common except the name. The Saulteurs and the Crees have always been intimately united; and they have the same

usages and the same superstitions, to which they are extremely attached.

Their principal religious meeting takes place every spring, about the time when all the plants begin to awaken from their long winter sleep and renew their life, and commence to bud. The ticket of invitation is a piece of tobacco sent by the oldest person of the nation, indicating the place of rendezvous to the principal persons of the tribe. This is a national feast, in which each individual is interested, being the feast of medicines. Each head of a family is the physician of his children, but he cannot become so without having a preliminary instruction and initiation into the secrets of medicine. It is at this feast that each one is received. All the ceremonies which they perform are emblematic, and signify the virtue of plants in the cure of the various maladies of man.

Another superstition, proper to cure the evils which have place more in the imagination than in the body, is the NIPIKKIWAN. It consists in drawing out the evil directly, in drawing the breath and spitting in the eyes of the sick person. The pretended cause of the suffering is sometimes a stone, a fruit, the point of an arrow, or even a medicine, wrapped up in cotton. One cannot conceive how much these poor people submit with blind faith to these absurdities.

Lastly, curiosity, and the desire of knowing the future, has invented the *Teisakkiwin.* It consists of certain formalities, songs, invocations of spirits, and bodily agitations which are so energetic, that you are carried back to the time of the ancient Sybils; they seem to say to you, *Deus ecce Deus*, and then submitting to the questions of the spectators, for whom they always have a reply, whether it be to tell what passes at a distance,

or reveal the place where objects which have been lost may be found. As the skill of the prophet consists in replying in ambiguous terms upon all subjects of which he has not been able to procure information in advance he is always sure of success, either more or less striking. Besides, as one is ordinarily predisposed to the marvellous, anything that aids an imposture is easily overlooked.

I knew a man who was in great trouble on account of his horses, which he could not find just at the moment when all the hunters were about to go upon an expedition. Seeing he could not accompany them without his horses, he used every effort to find them. At last an old Saulteur came to him and proposed if he would give him a net (a net used to catch fish) he would go immediately and invoke his manitous; and he was very sure they would give him the desired information. As one can readily suppose, the offer was accepted; and after the ordinary formalities, the juggler said he saw the number of the horses, and described them otherwise faithfully, naming also exactly the place where they could be found. They were in effect found in the place he had indicated. Now this old man had himself hid the horses, in order to obtain from the owner, the net which he knew he possessed; and which he himself needed. I could cite many other instances of the same kind.

Dreams are for the Saulteurs, revelations; and the bird, the animal, or even a stone, or whatever it may be which is the principal subject of the dream, becomes a tutelary spirit, for which the dreamer has a particular veneration. As dreams are more apt to visit a sick person, when the brain is more subject to these aberrations, many such have a number of dreams, and consequently many tutelary spirits. They preserve images, and statues in their medicine bag, and never lose sight of them; but carry

them about wherever they go. The faith of the Saulteurs in their medicine is such, that they believe a disease can be thrown into an absent person, or that certain medicines can master the mental inclinations, such as love or hatred. Thus it is the interest of these old men to pander to the young. It cannot be denied that the Saulteurs have some knowledge of medicine. And I have myself witnessed several cures, which did honor to their physician. I have, above all, followed with great interest the progress of a cure which an English doctor had pronounced incurable, nevertheless the Saulteur doctor pronounced its cure very easy; which indeed he effected in a very short time. The disease was erysipelas, degenerated into ulcers.

The Saulteurs language is much richer than is commonly thought. It bears a great resemblance to the ancient languages. It has, like the Greek, the dual and the two futures. And like that language it has but few radical words, but their manner of forming words for the occasion, by the aid of these radicals, gives a great facility of expression, the same as in the Greek. The conjunction "and," either by hazard, or otherwise, is the same as in the Greek. This language is formed of radical and compound words. The radical words are commonly employed in the familiar style; but in oratorical style, the compound words are used. As for example, *Ishpa*, *Wadjin*, in compound style is *ishpatna*, the mountain is high; *mangeleya sipa*, the river is large; in the compound style is *mangittigweya*, &c., this makes the learning of the language rather difficult at first, nearly equal to the acquiring of two languages; but in return for this, one obtains an extreme facility in expressing his thought with all the force he desires.

The Saulteurs have also their poetic style, which consists

more in suspensions and enigmatical phrases, than in words. Their songs contain only a few words, with a great many notes. Their music is very strange, and consists more in guttural sounds, than in modulations. Their intervals are generally *de tierce en tierce*, accompanied by a great many unisons. They have songs of war, of love and of worship.

Their writings are composed of arbitrary hieroglyphics, and the best writer is he who is most skillful in using such signs as most fully represent his thoughts. Though this manner of writing is very defective, it is nevertheless ingenious and very useful, and has this advantage over all other languages, since it paints the thoughts and not the words. For it remains for genius to discover the means of writing the thought, and not the word; just as figures represent numbers in all languages. Though the Saulteurs have no idea of the state they shall find themselves in after death, they believe in the existence of a future life. They have very strange ideas on this subject; in consequence of some of these, they place near the deceased his arms and the articles most necessary to life. Some have even gone so far as to have their best horse killed at their death, in order, as they said, to use him in traveling to the country of the dead. It is the general belief that the spirit returns to visit the grave of the deceased very often, so long as the body is not reduced to dust. During this space of time it is held a sacred duty, on the part of the relatives of the deceased, to make sacrifices and offerings, and celebrate festivals before the door of the tomb. In the time of fruits, they carry them in great abundance to the tomb, and he who nourishes himself with them after they have been deposited there, causes great joy to the parents and relations of the deceased. Although I have seen an old man who believed in metempsychosis, it is not

a belief of the nation; he probably received this thought elsewhere.

The Saulteurs have some knowledge of astronomy; they have names for the most remarkable constellations; they have names also for the lunar months; but their calculations, as can be conceived, are very imperfect, and they often find themselves in great embarrassment, and have recourse to us to solve their difficulties. The electric fluid manifested in thunder, the rays of light of the Aurora Borealis, are in their imagination animated beings; the thunders, according to them, are supernatural beings; and the rays of the Aurora Borealis are the dead who dance.

Their idea of the creation of the world goes no farther back than the deluge, of which they have still a tradition, the narration of which would fill volumes. This account is extremely amusing, and filled with wearisome episodes. Without attempting to narrate the whole of it here, I will tell that part which relates to the creation; "An immortal genius, seeing the water which covered the earth, and finding nowhere a resting place for his foot, ordered a Castor, an Otter, and other amphibious animals to plunge by turns into the water, and bring up a little earth to the surface. They were all drowned. The Rat, however, succeeded in reaching the bottom, and took some earth in his paws; but he died before he got back; yet his body rose to the surface of the water. The genius, NENABOJOU, seeing that he had found earth, brought him to life, and employed him to continue the work. When there was a sufficient quantity of earth, he made a man, whom he animated with his breath." This genius is not the Great Spirit, of whom they never speak except with respect; while NENABOJOU is considered a buffoon of no gravity.

This account contains one thing very important: It is that in speaking of the creation of plants, &c., it speaks of their nutritive properties; and thus offers a resource for the sustenance of life in times of scarcity; showing what roots, plants, and mosses can to a certain extent preserve life. Improvident, not to say more of them, like all savage nations, the Saulteurs pass rapidly from abundance to want.

There grows in the prairies a kind of turnip which can appease hunger; when this root is chopped up, dried, and beaten, the Saulteurs make a soup of it, which, when mixed with a little meat, becomes very nourishing; and thus, the food which would scarcely have sufficed a single day, is made to last several days. There is also a wild onion, of which they make much use. The ginger which grows in the woods, is employed as pepper in their repasts. In the spring, they find a kind of root, the shape of which resembles a ligne, vulgarly called a *rat's tail.* It is very abundant, of a good flavor, and very nutritive. Another root named *ashkibwah*—that which is eaten raw—is very abundant, and contains much nutritive substance. The fibres of the trees, above all of the aspen, are used by them in time of scarcity; also, a kind of bush or shrub which is found in the woods, called *pimattik.*

In the rocky countries, there exists a kind of moss very well known to travelers, of which the utility has been appreciated in more than one adventurous circumstance. It is the famous *Tripe de Roche.* This moss is of the nature of the mushroom. As there are some mushrooms which are real poisons, so there is a kind of *Tripe de Roche* which, far from nourishing, produces death. That which is green, and has small, round leaves, is the most nourishing, and most easily digested. With

this, and a duck, a partridge, or a fish, one can make a succulent soup sufficient to nourish several men.

The Saulteurs have a great passion for gaming. They pass whole days and nights in play; staking all they have, even their guns and traps, and sometimes their horses. It has happened that, having nothing more, they have staked even their wives upon the play.

Their love of intoxicating liquors is, as among all the other savage tribes, invincible. A Saulteur who was convinced of religion, wished to become a Christian; but he could not be admitted without renouncing indulgence in drunkenness to excess. He complained bitterly, that the Hudson Bay Company had reduced his people to such a pitiable state, by bringing rum into the country of which they never would have thought if they had not tasted it. The Saulteurs are one of the most warlike of nations. From time immemorial, they have had the advantage over their numerous enemies, and pushed them to the north. They treat the vanquished with the most horrible barbarity. It is then that they are cannibals by virtue; for though we see sometimes among them cases of anthropophagy, they have such a horror of it that he who has committed this act is no longer sure of his life. They hold it a sacred duty to put him to death on the first favorable occasion. But during war, they make a glory of cannibalism. The feast of victory is very often composed of human flesh. One sees a trait of this barbarity in the names they give to their principal enemies; as for instance, the Sioux, whom they call *Wanak*. As I have remarked before, it is not rare that they add to or retrench a little their proper names, which renders their interpretation rather difficult for strangers. In the word I have mentioned, *bwan* is put for *obwan* which signifies a piece of flesh put on the spit;

thus the word *abwanak*, which they have finished by calling *bwanak* or *pwanak*, signifying, those whom one roasts on a spit. In their great war parties, after the victory, the Saulteurs build a great fire, then plant all around spits laden with the thighs, heads, and hearts, &c., of their enemies, after, which they return home.

4th. The Sioux, to whom we must join the Assiniboines, inhabit a portion of the valley of the Hudson Bay, viz: the upper part of the Red river, and the river Chayenne, which is tributary to it. But many endeavors have been made to conclude a solid peace with the Sioux; and though each time has been with the appearance of success, these acts of treason have always destroyed these bright hopes. The Saulteurs complain bitterly of their want of faith.

Might I be permitted to advance the opinion, that if the government could, without departing from its principles, afford protection to the Catholic missionaries, and such help as would enable them to evangelize this people, we would soon see what is now seen in Canada: two nations, the most hostile to each other, the Algonquins and the Iriquois, form two villages, which are separated from each other by a church, which is used in common by the two nations; where each one sings in turn in his own language the praises of the God of Peace who unites them. Arms, military forces, destruction of life from time to time, the extinction of a portion of those, might effect at last what is desired; but would it not be better to try to attain the same end by more charitable measures, which in sparing the effusion of human blood, would establish the faith of treaties on a more solid basis than that of fear—on the persuasion of conscience? I will say no more in regard to this nation, seeing that you who are on the spot can obtain all the details to be desired.

The nation of the Assiniboines, who separated themselves from the Sioux, according to tradition, on account of family disputes, took its name from the rocks of the Lake of the Woods, where they first lived after their separation. Their name comes from *assin*, rock, and *hwan*, Sioux—*Sioux of the Rocks*. It is impossible to fix the date of this separation; for at the arrival of the first missionaries to Hudson's Bay, Father GABRIEL MAREST, in 1694 wrote, speaking of the Assinniboines whom he called *Assinipoils*, that this tradition was regarded as being already very old.

The Assiniboines are numerous, and from their habit of living in encampments, are formidable to their enemies. This tribe, like the Saulteurs and the Crees, their allies, are not hostile to the whites. A traveler can pass through this nation with more security for his life than in a civilized country; which cannot be said of the Sioux. One cannot travel upon the highlands of the Missouri and Red rivers, without being often seized with horror by the narrations occasioned by the view of places and scenes of a crowd of acts of barbarity and treason, that have been perpetrated by this people, of which, one sees in history but an example from time to time. It is a horrible sight to see, as I have seen in different places, the skeletons of human beings, confounded in a heap with the bones of savage animals. Without these imminent dangers, which such sights recall to the mind of the traveler, these prairies would appear a paradise. Filled with game of all kinds, they offer at each moment a new point of view, and a variety of perspective most astonishing. Lakes, where the herds of bison come to slake their thirst, and where the majestic swan and the wild goose repose themselves in passing. The limpid streams, where the beavers expose

their ingenious work to the admiring gaze; petrifactions, mineral waters of various kinds, flowers and strange plants, all unite to amuse and interest the intelligent traveler in search of the useful and agreeable.

I will say nothing here of the chase of the bison, as I have already given a description of that, which has been published.

The nature of the territory separated from that of the United States by the 49th degree of latitude, is such, that it seems necessary that one should have first visited the country before determining the line and making a choice. With the exception of a straight strip of land, say a degree parallel to the 49th degree of latitude, all the rest of the country of the Bay of Hudson is filled with lakes, marshes, savannas and rocks. Except a small portion on which is established the colony of Selkirk, there is not a spot of land that will produce corn. One can hardly imagine the sad eventualities to which the people of this country are subjected, who can never count on the resources of agriculture, being 600 miles from any point where they can obtain supplies. It is thus that the people north of *Saskadjiwan* are exposed from time to time, to the terrible alternative of dying of hunger or of eating one another, when in the interval that the fisheries fail, it happens that the chase fails also.

It is for this reason that our neighbors of the colony of Selkirk view with envious eyes the beautiful territory which extends south of 49th degree, from Rainy Lake to the Rocky Mountains. The left bank of the river of Rainy Lake, for the space of about 80 miles, is covered with all kinds of wood, of which the extreme height indicates the fertility of the soil. The country which belongs to the United States, is filled with advantages in respect to water power. It is on account of the inferiority of the advantages of their terri-

tory, that our neighbors feel a strong opposition to our establishment.

At the foot of the beautiful mountain of Pembina, which is more than 200 feet above the level of the river Pembina, which divides it, and on its first table rises the little village of St. Joseph. It is divided by squares of 12 chains, and subdivided by lots of 6 chains. Its streets are one chain (66ft.) wide, which adds to the beauty of the town, rendering the extinction of fire easier, and favoring the free circution of air and the health of the citizens. Every thing wears an air of vigor, in spite of the little protection they have thus far received from the general government. The least effective step, such as a garrison of soldiers, however feeble it might be, the construction of a public edifice, a court of justice, a prison, a house of correction, or anything that would prove the indubitable intention of government to protect us, would draw to this place a great portion of the population of Selkirk and elsewhere. The soil is very fertile, and the frosts never occasion any damage. Our gardens yield us an abundance of melons of all kinds; a fruit which is not known in the gardens of the Selkirkers. In 1851 the first frost felt at St. Paul was on the 6th or 7th of September; while at St. Josephs the first frost was not until the 2d or 3d of October. They raise potatoes which weigh about two pounds each, and carrots 18 inches long and 4 in diameter. If the country were explored it would show without doubt great mineralogical advantages. At a short distance from our establishment, there are certain indications of iron and coal—these two articles are the most important for this country. The river Pembina furnishes water power for any force required; there is also stone in abundance, and very easily obtained.

Though I have tried to be as laconic as possible, I fear I have occupied you too long. Nevertheless, not to refuse to

gratify you, I will give you the biography you asked of me.

BIOGRAPHY OF GEORGE ANTOINE BELCOURT.

GEORGE ANTOINE BELCOURT, was born on the Bay of Febre or St. Antoine, district of Three Rivers, Lower Canada, in 1803, of an honest mechanic, of small fortune, who, seeing the aptitude of his son for study, placed him at the college of Nicolet. After having passed through his classes with success, he embraced the ecclesiastical state, and took a course of theology. He was professor there at the same time of mathematics and astronomy. Made a priest in 1827, he acted as vicar in the town of Three Rivers, and several other places; thence he received a mission for the curacy of St. Francis, on the river of the same name, and soon after was named to the curacy of St. Martin, on the river Chateaugay, on the place which was celebrated for the victory of General SALISBURY over General HAMPDEN. In 1830, Bishop PROVENCHER came down the Red River and traveled in Canada in search of a priest who was suitable to labor solely in christianizing the savage. In answer to all inquiries, general suffrage united on this young curate. He demanded him of the Bishop of Quebec, and Mr. BELCOURT received orders to go into the north country. Having arrived at Red River, the 19th of June, 1831, he applied himself with ardor to the study of the Saulteur language. By means of research and study he discovered the principles of the language, which he arranged and caused to be printed in 1839; also a book of piety in this tongue. He composed a dictionary which would form a large quarto, but which for want of encouragement has never been printed. This dictionary, French and Saulteur, gives the etymology of each word, and the composite particles, which throws much light upon the knowledge of this language, and enables one to seize the genius of it—a thing so essential to him who desires to understand the people in general.

After having traveled, formed missions, built chapels, etc., in divers places, in a space from east to west of about 1000 miles, that is to say, from Rainy Lake to a place on the river Saskadjiwan called *Le Pas*, (*Wabathgweyang*, or Strait of the River,) coursed the river Signe, the river Assiniboine, etc., he returned to pass each winter at his mission of St. Paul, on the river Assiniboine.

In 1833, the haughty conduct of the Hudson Bay Company occasioned a disturbance among the half-breeds which threatened to become serious. After having employed, without success, the influence of the principal personages then of the country, and of the Bishop even, to appease them, Gov. SIMPSON, knowing the ascendancy Mr. BELCOURT possessed over the minds of the half-breeds, went for this missionary, who resided at his mission at St. Paul, about 80 miles from the colony, escorted by the principal persons of the country, and supplicated him to come down to the colony and employ his influence in the establishment of order. The missionary yielded himself most willingly to this demand; then being arrived at the colony, he convoked an assembly, in which he exposed to the people what griefs they had a right to complain of for redress, and made them comprehend what was not just in their pretensions; and authorized them to demand reasonable concessions. These he drew up in the French and English languages, and demanded a public interview with the Governor. This audience took place the next day. The assembly was numerous; everything was peaceably discussed and disposed of in a manner satisfactory to both parties. Then each went away contented. Thus peace was re-established. In gratitude, Governor SIMPSON added 50 pounds sterling to a like sum which the company gave every year to the Catholic clergy, which they still receive yearly.

In 1837, the exactions of the Hudson Bay Company, and

their abuse of power, having excited the indignation of the colony, many of them were disposed to go into excesses, which were of a nature to be of no utility to any party. As he possessed all the confidence of the inhabitants, Mr. BELCOURT proposed to them to adopt legal measures, and not such as their conscience, and a spirit of honesty must reprove. A petition to the Queen was the means he proposed to try. As no one else felt himself capable of drawing up this document, rather than see things come to an extremity, he undertook it himself. This petition was carried to England by Mr. JAMES SINCLAIR, and presented to the government by a society of advocates, the zeal of whom merits the warmest praises, particularly Mr. ISBISTER. This cause made a considerable noise in England. It was vigorously sustained by Mr. BLACKSTONE and others; but favor and money put an end to the discussions.

The indignation of the Hudson Bay Company fell with all its weight upon him who had drawn up the petition; and it was decided in the council of Factors of the Hudson Bay Company, held by Sir GEORGE SIMPSON, that Mr. BELCOURT should be driven out the country. This year, 1838, Mr. BELCOURT had gone to Canada by way of the United States, and then returned through the Eastern States to Montreal, the same Autumn. Before the departure of Mr. BELCOURT, the Factor of the Hudson Bay Company, in charge of the fort of the colony, wishing to annoy him as much as possible, sent and had him arrested by the constable, in the very palace of the bishop, the evening before his departure, and had him conducted before a magistrate, where he was forced to submit to a course of questions as insolent as they were unfounded. Such as "Have you traded in furs with the savages?" Now, it was notorious to all that this missionary had never even thought of this branch of occupation. Still further: "Do you think the charter of the company is not

valid?" One can see by this that they would have wished to master even the thoughts. This Factor had not yet treated the missionary with sufficient insolence; he sent in pursuit of his carriages some bailiffs, with orders to visit his trunks. Despotism and a spirit of vengeance knows no bounds, even where a regard to honor ought to inspire a different course. All this only served to prove the innocence of Mr. BELCOURT, and the gross injustice of his persecutors.

At the arrival of Mr. BELCOURT at Montreal, Sir GEORGE SIMPSON, who did not think him so near, had been to make certain depositions before the archbishop of Quebec, threatening to cease all communication with the clergy of Red River if Mr. BELCOURT was not recalled. This missionary received, upon his arrival at Montreal, a letter from the archbishop of Quebec, who informed him of his disgrace; and invited him for the peace of the clergy of Red River, to return to Canada. Mr. BELCOURT immediately opened a correspondence with Sir GEORGE, which lasted several months, with the object of exacting a retraction on his part. He also had several interviews with him; during which Sir GEORGE promised all, but never performed anything. Mr. BELCOURT had written to Mr. ISBISTER of the conduct of Sir GEORGE. This young advocate, with his accustomed zeal in exposing injustice, had presented this letter to the Society of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the object of which was to defend the rights of Catholics. The secretary of this society wrote immediately by order to the archbishop of Quebec, to ask a confirmation of the truth of this letter, of which he had sent him a copy; advising him at the same time, that this was done with a view of instituting a suit against Sir GEORGE. Then Mr. BELCOURT informed the Governor of the Hudson Bay Company that there was no time to lose for him; and that if his retraction was not made in formal terms, and in such a manner as was calcula-

ted to satisfy him, of which he would exact a copy, all his information would leave by the first post for London, and that he would have to justify himself for his conduct before the Society of St. Thomas of Canterbury. This letter was a thunderbolt for Sir GEORGE; and all the measures exacted by Mr. BELCOURT were immediately and exactly fulfilled. Then Sir GEORGE requested that Mr. BELCOURT should be sent again as missionary to Red River; "he acknowledged his services rendered in times of difficulty, and regretted the injuries which had been done him without his knowledge; and blamed the Factor as the author of them. He said he had always been, and was still a sincere friend of Mr. BELCOURT," &c., &c. But this missionary refused his advances, and offered himself to the bishop of Dubuque, for the mission of Pembina. His offer was accepted in a most flattering manner; and since 1849, Mr. BELCOURT has been missionary to Pembina, still having it in his power to render to the Saulteurs and half breeds the same services which he rendered to them at first. The retraction of Sir GEORGE was announced in the English papers, and the affair rested there.

Since his arrival at Pembina, inundations greater than have taken place there since 1826, caused him to abandon the first establishment formed on Red River, and choose another site infinitely more picturesque, and above all danger of being submerged, at the foot of Mount Pembina.

PEMBINA, 1853.

OBITUARY OF JAMES M. GOODHUE.

BY REV. E. D. NEILL.

The body that once encased the mind of JAMES M. GOODHUE, is no longer visible, but dwells in a narrow house, the silent and dreary grave. Until he ceased to breathe, his value to the community was not fully known. In life, he was viewed chiefly in the aspect of an individual battling for his own interests. In death, it is discovered that he was the individual above all others, who had promoted the general welfare of Minnesota, and especially that of the Capital.

In April, 1849, he found St. Paul nothing more than a frontier Indian trading settlement, known by the savages as the place where they could obtain MINNE WAKAN, or whisky, and wholly unknown to the civilized world. When he died, with the sword of his pen, he had carved a name and reputation for St. Paul, and he lived long enough to hear men think aloud and say that the day was coming when school boys would learn from their geography that the third city in commercial importance on the banks of the mighty Mississippi, was St. Paul. His most bitter opponents were convinced, whatever might be his course towards them, that he loved Minnesota with all his heart, all his mind, and all his might.

The editor of the Pioneer was unlike other men. Every action, and every line he wrote marked great individuality. He could imitate no man in his manners, nor in his style, neither could any man imitate him. Attempts were

sometimes made, but the failure was always very great Impetuous as the whirlwind, with perceptive powers that gave to his mind the eye of a lynx, with a vivid imagination that made the very stones of Minnesota speak her praise; with an intellect as vigorous and elastic as a Damascene blade, he penned editorials which the people of this Territory can never blot out from memory.

His wit, when it was chastened, caused ascetics to laugh. His sarcasm upon the foibles of society was paralysing and unequaled by MACAULEY in his review of the life of BARERE. His imagination produced a tale of fiction called "Striking a Lead," which has already become a part of the light literature of the West. When in the heat of partizan warfare, all the qualities of his mind were combined to defeat certain measures; the columns of his paper were like a terrific storm in mid-summer amid the Alps. One sentence would be like the dazzling arrowy lightning, peeling in a moment the mountain oak, and riving it from the topmost branch to the deepest root; the next like a crash of awful thunder; and the next like the stunning roar of a torrent of many waters. To employ the remark made in a discourse at his funeral, "With the ingenuity of VULCAN, he would hammer out thunder bolts on the anvil of his mind, and hurl them with the power and dexterity of JOVE."

The contrarieties of his character often increased his force. Imagining his foes to be Cossacks, he often dashed among them with all the recklessness of MURAT. The fantastic magnificence of his pen, when in those moods, was as appalling in its temerity as the white ostrich feather and glittering gold band of NAPOLEON'S famed marshal.

His prejudice was inveterate against sham and clap trap. He refused to publish many of the miserable advertisements of those quacks, who seek to palm off their nostrums upon

young men, diseased through their own vices. When a "stroller" for a living, or a self-dubbed professor came to town, he sported with him as the Philistines with blind SAMSON. By sarcasm and ridicule, "JARLEY with his wax works" was made to decamp.

When he was unjustifiably harsh, his apology was that in the Medea of Euripides:

"Manthano men hola dran mello kaka
Thumos de kreissona tone emone bouleumatone."

He was not hypocritical; he never wore a mask. His editorials showed all he felt at the hour they were dashed from his pen. When untramelled by self-interest or party ties, his sentiments proved that he was a man that was often ready to exclaim:

"Video meliora proboque
Deteriora sequor."

In one of these moods, the first editorial in Minnesota was penned, which we insert as worthy of preservation in the Annals of the Historical Society:

"THE PRESS IN MINNESOTA.—But little more than one week ago, we landed in St. Paul, amidst a crowd of strangers, with the first printing press that has ever rested upon the soil of Minnesota. Without subscription list or pledges of patronage, or the least personal acquaintance or even correspondence with any of the politicians of this young Territory, we trustingly launched out *The Pioneer*, depending upon the voluntary good will and patronage of the whole people of Minnesota, to extend it whatever support it may deserve. One of our cardinal principles is to *put our trust in the People, and not in princes.* That our success will be measured by the degree of zeal and ability we shall exercise in the advocacy of sound principles and of the permanent interests of this Territory we do not entertain the least doubt. We have been received in St. Paul with a degree of cordiality and warmth, peculiarly grateful to the stranger. Every person we meet, expresses a wish to favor our new and expensive enterprise. All our interests are henceforth identified with the prosperity of this town and the welfare of this Territory. We shall steadily advocate the principles of morality, virtue and religion, and seek for *truth*, without which nothing is excellent. In politics, we design to

have no concealments ; but to embark in no ultraisms. Our political relations to the Union as a Territory not only exempt us from the necessity, but preclude us from the propriety of enlisting in the great warfare of national politics. Our best interests require us to repose in advance a fair share of confidence in the new Administration, which has in its power the appointment of our principal Territorial officers, and the bestowment of some important appropriations and the passage of many laws deeply affecting our Territorial interests. Our abstract opinions upon the policy or impolicy of national internal improvements, or upon the question whether a tariff is preferable established on the advalorem principle or regulated by a scale of specific duties, may be freely and innocently indulged ; but to make such opinions here, serve as a gulf between two parties, is as useless and ridiculous as it would be for our respectable neighbors, the Sioux Indians across the river, to quarrel about the protocol to the treaty of peace with Mexico, or the adoption of the Wilmot Proviso. There is nothing more certain than that the interests of Minnesota require an able and efficient press, to represent abroad our wants and to set forth our situation, our resources and our advantages. We hope our friends will remember that the publication of a paper here, will require to be sustained, not only by a large subscription list and liberal advertising, but also by good prices, and what is, *absolutely indispensable*, PROMPT AND EARLY PAYMENT. We cannot live upon promises. Sustain us well now, and we will engage to levy upon you a light tax next year. We want every man in Minnesota to subscribe for the *Pioneer*, and we promise to use every effort to make it useful and interesting to all our readers. We shall find leisure after a few weeks necessarily devoted to making a removal and settlement in St. Paul, to enliven our columns with a much greater variety of local description, &c. Until then, our readers must grant us some indulgence."

As a paragraphist, he was equaled by few living men. His sentences so leaped with life, that when the distant reader perused his sheet, he seemed to hear the purling brooks and see the agate pavements and crystal waters of the lakes of Minnesota, and he longed to leave the sluggish stream, the deadly malaria, and worn out farms, and begin life anew in the Territory of the sky-tinted waters. When the emigrant from week to week was disposed to despond, and give way to the distress of home sickness, the hopeful sentences of his paper in

relation to the prosperous future, chased that dismal feeling away.

The deceased was born in Hebron, N. H., March 31st, 1810. His parents possessed the strong faith and stern virtue of the Puritans, and felt that an education was the greatest treasure they could give their children. After passing through preparatory studies, he entered Amherst College, where he listened to the lectures of the distinguished Geologist, HITCHCOCK, and other devout men of science. In the year 1832, he received a diploma from that institution. It was his desire to have attended a meeting of his surviving classmates in the halls of his "Alma Mater," but another summons came to take "his chamber in the silent halls of Death."

Having studied law, he entered upon the practice of the profession. He became an editor unexpectedly to himself. Having been invited to take the oversight of a press in the lead region of Wisconsin, during the temporary absence of its conductor, he discovered that he increased the interest of the readers in the paper. From that time he began to pay less attention to the legal profession, and was soon known among the citizens of the mines as the editor of the *Grant County Herald*, published at Lancaster, Wisconsin. While residing at this place, he became interested in the Territory "of sky-tinted waters" (Minnesota.) With the independence and temerity of one BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, he left Lancaster as suddenly as the ostensible editor of the *New England Courant* left Boston, and he arrived at the landing of what is now the capital of Minnesota, with little more money and few more friends than the young printer who landed at Market Street Wharf, in the capital of the then youthful Territory of Pennsylvania. This part of his life he has described with some minuteness in the

Pioneer of April 18th, 1852, in connection with a life-like picture of

THE FIRST DAYS OF THE TOWN OF SAINT PAUL.

"The 18th day of April, 1849, was a raw, cloudy day. The steamboat Senator, Capt. SMITH, landed at RANDALL'S warehouse, Lower Landing, the only building then there, except ROBERT'S old store. Of the people on shore, we recognized but one person as an acquaintance, HENRY JACKSON. Took our press, types, printing apparatus all ashore. Went with our men to the house of Mr. BASS, corner of Third and Jackson streets. He kept the only public house in St. Paul, and it was crowded full from cellar to garret. Mr. BASS was very obliging, and did everything possible for our encouragement. The next thing was a printing office; and that it seemed impossible to obtain. Made the acquaintance of C. P. V. LULL and his partner, GILBERT. They furnished us, gratuitously, the lower story of their building for an office—the only vacant room in town—being the building on Third street, since finished off and now occupied as a saloon by Mr. CALDER. The weather was cold and stormy, and our office was as open as a corn-rick; however, we picked our types up, and made ready for the issue of the first paper ever printed in Minnesota, or within many hundreds of miles of it; but upon search, we found our news chase was left behind. WM. NOBLES, blacksmith, made us a very good one, after a delay of two or three days. The paper was to be named "*The Epistle of St. Paul*," as announced in our prospectus, published in the February preceding; but we found so many little Saints in the Territory, jealous of Saint Paul, that we determined to call our paper "*The Minnesota Pioneer*." One hindrance after another delayed our first issue to the 28th of April, ten days. Meantime, Rev. Mr. NEILL arrived. It was encouraging to find a young man of education, ready to enlist all that he had or hoped on earth in the fortunes of our town. Stillwater and St. Paul were then running neck and neck as rival towns. Not a foot of pine lumber could be had nearer than Stillwater; but about this time one of the mills at St. Anthony was put in operation; but there were then only a few buildings at the Falls of St. Anthony. We looked about St. Paul, to buy a lot. Mr. LARPENTEUR'S house was built; also, FRENCH'S house and shop, (now a tin shop,) and the little shop, then the drug store of DEWEY & CAVILEER, now Major NOAH'S office, next door west of CALDER'S (then our printing office); also the office of Judge PIERSE, (then the fur store of OLMSTEAD & RHODES). Mr. LAMBERT'S house was partly finished. As you go up Third and Bench streets, the next buildings were two old tamarac log houses, a little east of where Mr.

NEILL'S church is; then passing the school house, there were two more of the same sort in the street, in front of the houses now occupied by Mr. BENSON and Mr. HOLLINSHEAD, near the junction of St. Anthony, Bench and Hill streets. Beyond, was the house JOHN R. IRVINE lives in, and nothing else but the symptoms of two or three balloon frames. The FULLERS were at work putting up a small store with their own hands. Returning, on the right was the old underground dead-fall, in the ground, opposite JOHN R. IRVINE'S house; then at the junction of Third and Bench streets was VETAL GUERIN'S log house (now LEDUC'S); then the building in which Mr. CURRAN lives, at that time unfinished; then the old bakery next door east; then Mr. HOPKINS' at the corner; turning the corner to the head of RANDALL'S stairs, (not then built,) was the old building still there, (now belonging to F. STEELE,) which HENRY JACKSON used to own, where he kept grocery, post-office, and a tavern, free for all the world and the world's wife. Up along the bank of the river stood, and yet stands, the building occupied as a store by WM. H. FORBES, the St. Paul Outfit; next was a little log building, the nucleus of "the Central House;" next the old log Catholic church, where the Rev. Mr. RAVOUX faithfully labored, and sometimes saw miraculous visions during the time of Lent; then the log house belonging to Mr. LAROUX, which is now being metamorphosed into a neat building. This brings us back to VETAL'S, the junction of Third and Bench streets. Half a dozen other buildings along Robert street, and Mr. HOYT'S neighborhood, in addition to the above, constituted St. Paul. But let it be remembered that the fashionable drinking place then was that little log house next east of GOODRICH'S brick store. Mr. BASS was busy in hurrying up a new saloon, the building now occupied as the clerk's office by Mr. WILKINSON, on the spot where the Minnesota Outfit stands. The ground west of Robert and north of Third streets was covered with any quantity of hewed timber stripped from the forest opposite town. We looked about for a lot, and saw that the two ends of the town must soon unite in the middle. Along the lower end of Third street, owners of lots had the coolness to ask from one hundred to two hundred dollars a lot. Between LAMBERT'S and where the Sligo Iron Store is, on Third street, the price was seventy-five and soon after ninety dollars. We bought a fractional lot with Dr. DEWEY; and on our half of it built the middle section of the building where the *Pioneer* office is, for a dwelling house, and lived in it through the next year, without having it lathed or plastered.

"But to return a little. We were at length prepared to issue our first number. We had no subscribers; for then there were but a handful of people in the whole Territory; and the majority of those were Canadians

and half breeds. Not a Territorial officer had yet arrived. We remember present, at the date of our first issue, Mr. LULL, Mr. CAVILEER, Mr. NEILL, and perhaps Maj. MURPHY. The people wanted no politics, and we gave them none; they wanted information of all sorts about Minnesota; and that is what we furnished them with. We advocated Minnesota, morality and religion, from the beginning. WM. B. BROWN built a shell of a building, (being the south end of the Sligo Iron Store now,) which Mr. NEILL occupied for a meeting house. It was half filled with hearers on Sundays; for Sundays was like any other day, or perhaps rather more so.

"This town grew rapidly. The boats came up loaded with immigrants; but then, as now, a great many feeble, weak-hearted folks were frozen out and went back down the river, not being made of the right sort of stuff. Mr. OWENS came up with the "*Register*" press, from Cincinnati, one number of that journal having been printed in that city. Col. JAMES HUGHES also came from Ohio with the *Chronicle*, which was issued soon after from the building where the "*Minnesotian*" is now published. Soon after, the "*Register*," by M'LEAN & OWENS, was issued from the building that is now the law office of SIMONS & MASTERSON, St. Anthony street. After a few months, the *Chronicle and Register* were united in the old *Chronicle* office, under the firm name and style of OWENS & M'LEAN & HUGHES & QUAY. Mr. QUAY soon left the office; and soon after Col. HUGHES sold out, and Mr. M'LEAN became sole propriotor of both offices, and OWENS editor, Major M'LEAN being appointed Sioux Agent at Fort Snelling."

A short period before he was confined to his room, he fell from his ferry boat into the river, and was obliged to use great exertion to keep from drowning; this, in connection with a mind oppressed by the cares of one so active in life, is supposed to have shortened his days on earth. Not long after he was on a bed of sickness, there seemed to be the presentiment that his heart might have commenced "beating his funeral march to the grave."

Some days before he died, with great calmness of mind, he conversed with the minister, whose services he attended when in health. In looking back upon his life, he saw much to regret. He acknowledged his unworthiness in the sight of Heaven, and hoped that he had placed his trust in his Redeemer. He was desirous to live in order that he might

show to the world that he had determined to act upon new resolutions. To the last, he felt an interest in Minnesota. During his sickness he was patient, and freely forgave all his enemies.

His spirit left his body on Friday evening, August 27th, 1852, at half past eight o'clock. His funeral took place on Sunday afternoon. A discourse was delivered in the Presbyterian Church to the largest assembly ever convened upon a similar occasion in Minnesota.

The Legislative Assembly of 1853, very properly recognized his services in bringing Minnesota into notice, by giving his name to one of the new counties, formed out of the recently ceded Dakota lands.

DAKOTA LAND AND DAKOTA LIFE.

BY E. D. NEILL.

On the afternoon of May 15th, 1850, there might have been seen hurrying through the streets of Saint Paul, numbers of naked and painted braves of the Kaposia band of the Dakotas, ornamented with all the attire of war and panting for the scalps of their enemies. A few hours before, the youthful and warlike head chief of the Ojibways, (Chippewas) "HOLE-IN-THE-DAY," having secreted his canoe in the retired gorge which leads to the Cave, in the suburbs of the town, adjoining the Military Reserve, with two or three associates had crossed the river, and almost in sight of our inhabitants, attacked a small party of Dakotas and succeeded in taking a scalp. A spectacle like this will, in all probability, be never again witnessed from the adjacent bluffs.

An interesting change, resulting from the ratification of the treaties with the Dakotas at the last session of the United States Senate, has occurred. Where but a short time since, it was no uncommon sight to see from our windows only the cone-shaped teepee, and the savage hunter with his family and dogs, we now also behold, by night, the candle in the rude log cabin sending its rays across the stream, and listen, by day, to the cheerful voice of the wood-cutter's ax, or the lullaby of the pale-faced mother, and see those engaged in household duties whose early life was passed in the schools of the East.

Now that the wave of advancing civilization has crossed

the majestic river in front of the Capital of Minnesota, a few more months will obliterate the rude aboriginal villages in our immediate vicinity, and the corpse perched upon a scaffold upon some eminence, will give way to the hay-stack or corn-crib of the agriculturist. Bitterly disappointed as the Dakotas are, in not obtaining the permanent reservation in the original treaty, the Great Seal of Minnesota, with its representation of a warrior flying on horseback towards the setting sun, and looking back with sorrow upon the white man who has felled the trees of his old hunting grounds; and its motto, "*Quo sursum volo videre*," will ere long be something more than the device of the engraver; will be a sad reality. From the experience of the past, it will not be many years before certain of our own poets will thus sing of this ancient people:

"Alas, for them! their day is o'er,
Their fires are out from shore to shore;
No more for them the wild deer bounds—
The plough is on their hunting grounds.
The pale man's ax rings through their woods,
The pale man's sails skim o'er their floods,
Their pleasant springs are dry.
Their children look, by power oppressed,
Beyond the mountains of the West—
Their children go—to die!"

The least that we can do for the mighty nation that are soon to make an exodus from their familiar streams, is to attempt to preserve for the future settler some slight record of

DAKOTA LAND AND DAKOTA LIFE.

While the missionaries of the A. B. C. F. M. have, from time to time, imparted much valuable information, it has been of a fragmentary description, and in a shape not accessible to the general reader.

The Dakotas assert that they call themselves by this name because, as it signifies, they are "friendly" or confederated

bands. They were first brought to the notice of the civilized world by some French traders, who, as early as the year 1654, had started on a voyage, which they continued to the region of lakes beyond Superior. They are designated by the name of Scioux or Sioux in the Jesuit relations and other early documents. In the map prefixed to the Amsterdam edition of "HENNEPIN," the Sioux are styled Nedouessaus On LA HONTAN'S pretended map of Long River, they are called *Nadouessis*. CHARLEVOIX, who visited Green Bay in 1721, in his great work on New France, prepared by order of LOUIS XIV., and which is remarkable for its accuracy, says: "The name of Sioux, that we give to these Indians, is entirely of our own making, or rather it is but the last two syllables of the name of *Nadouessioux*, as many nations call them." In the Ojibway dialect the plural of *Nadowaisi* is *Nadowaisiwug*. The two last syllables are *Siwug*. The French have no *w* in their alphabet, and for brevity, as CHARLEVOIX, no doubt correctly, remarks, called them "Sioux." In the "Proces Verbal" of the taking possession of Louisiana at the mouth of the Mississippi on the 9th of April, 1682, the Dakotas are called "*Nadouessious*." COXE, in his "Carolana," speaking of Lake Superior, remarks that it "is called by most of the savages the lake of the Nadouessous, the greatest and most valiant nation of the North." In a map of North America, issued in 1710, the Sioux west of the Mississippi are called by the general Ojibway name of *Nadouesse*, and those living in the neighborhood of Mille Lac, *Issati*. HENNEPIN, in 1680, learned that the Indians whom he saw on the shores of Rum and Elk Rivers, and the lakes at their sources were called *Issati*. At this day, the Mississippi and Minnesota Dakotas are called by those on the Missouri, *Issati*, or *Isanyati*, which name seems to have been given them from the fact that they once lived at *Isantamde*, Knife Lake, one of the Mille Lacs.

In a long past age, the Dakotas perhaps lived in the region north of Lake Superior, and had some acquaintance with the Esquimaux, and other Arctic tribes. When the French extended their trade into the country beyond Lake Superior, they established a small post, under the charge of SIEUR ST. GERMAIN, on the path north of Lake Superior, to prevent the Assiniboines, a branch of the Sioux, from going to Fort Nelson to trade, which was an English post on Hudson's Bay; and they built another at *Kamanistigoyan*, or Pigeon River. From a remark in LA HARPE'S Louisiana, it is inferred that the Sioux of the east or *M'dewakantonwans*, carried their furs to the Hudson Bay Company's posts as late as 1700. HENNEPIN remarks: "In the vicinity of Issati Lake, there are numerous other lakes and streams, on the banks of which dwell the *Issati*, the *Nadouessans*, the *Tintonha*, or People of the Prairie, the *Ouadebathon*, or River People, the *Chongasketon*, the Wolf or Dog People, for the word "*chonga*" signifies wolf or dog; and many other bands which we comprehend under the name of *Nadouessans* or *Nadouessions.*" [Nouveau Voyage, pp. 321 and 322, Amsterdam, Ed.] On the map accompanying his work, Mille Lac is called *Chongasketon* Lake, north of which is marked the residence of the *Ouadebatons;* above these are the Hanctons, and in the vicinity of the Lac des Asseni-poils are the *Chongaskabion*, or "Nations de Forts."

The first and only attempt to classify and enumerate the Dakotas, of which we can learn, (by the early French explorers,) was made by LE SUEUR, in 1700. He subdivided the Scioux of the east into seven bands, who seem to have dwelt around the Mille Lacs:

NAMES OF THE SCIOUX OF THE EAST, WITH THEIR SIGNIFICATION.

MANTANTONS—That is to say, Village of the Great Lake which empties into a small one.

MENDEOUCANTONS—Village of Spirit Lake.

QUIOPETONS—Village of the Lake with one River.
PSIOUMANITONS—Village of Wild Rice Gatherers.
OUADEBATONS—The River Village.
OUATEMANETONS—Village of the tribe who dwell on the point of the Lake.
SONGASQUITONS—The brave Village.

The Scioux of the West.

TOUCHOUASINTONS—The Village of the Pole.
PSINCHATONS—Village of the Red Wild Rice.
OUJALESPOITONS—Village divided into many small Bands.
PSINOUTANHHINTONS—The Great Wild Rice Village.
TINTANGAOUGHIATONS—The Grand Lodge Village.
OUAPETONS—Village of the Leaf.
OUGHETGEODATONS—Dung Village.
OUAPETONTETONS—Village of those who Shoot in the Large Pine.
HINHANETONS—Village of the Red Stone Quarry.

At present this nation numbers at least 25,000 souls, and consists of seven principal divisions, each of which is made up of several allied bands.

SIOUX OF THE MISSOURI.—TEETWAWNS.

1. The division of the Dakotas in the "Far West" are known by the name of TITONWANS (Tee-twawns.) They are the "plundering Arabs" of America, and have of late years been a terror to the emigrants to the Pacific coast. At present they swarm over the plains west of the Missouri. Their name signifies "Village of the Prairie." HENNEPIN (Amsterdam edition, p. 318) says that he was told of falls above those of Saint Anthony, probably those of Sauk Rapids, in the vicinity of which were the TINTONHA, that is to say, the People of the Prairie. He also states that in August, 1679, in the vicinity of the Falls of Niagara, he saw the Iroquois returning from a war party, with Tintonha captives, "a nation who dwelt in the prairies more than 400 leagues distant." LAHONTAN mentions in his book of travels that the Dakotas, some years previous to 1688, had fought with the Iroquois on an island in the Mississippi.

In the State Cabinet at Albany, N. Y., there is a very old pipe made of red-stone from the sacred quarry in Minnesota. There is a tradition in relation to this pipe, that it was taken from a Sioux many years ago, by one of a war party of Senecas, (a branch of the Iroquois,) that had gone into the Sioux country. It bears marks of severe usage and antiquity, for the original orifice in which the stone was inserted, has given place to a new one.

Upon the maps accompanying the several editions of HENNEPIN'S travels, the *Tintonha* are marked as being west of Sauk Rapids. After the French had commenced trading on the upper Mississippi, this division of the Dakotas seem to have retired from the region of the Mississippi, towards the sources of the Minnesota, where there was an abundance of buffaloes. In a map communicated to the Royal Academy of Paris, in 1710, they are marked as the wandering nation of *Tintons*. In DE L'ISLE'S map of the Mississippi prepared about 1725, Lac-qui-Parle is represented as surrounded with "*Tinton*" lodges, and their neighbors on the south and west, yet east of the Missouri, are the *Mahas*, *Aricarees*, and *Iowas*.

The *Tintonwans* or *Teetwawns* of the present day comprise at least one-half of the Dakota nation. CULBERTSON, who visited this country in 1850, at the request of the Smithsonian Institution, states that they number over 2000 lodges. They are divided into seven sub-tribes, and these again into various bands.

2. *The Ihanktonwans.*—Pronunciation, *E-hawnk-twawns.* Usually spelled Yanktons. Signification, Village at the end. Country, basin of the river A'Jacques. Number of lodges, 300, from eight to ten persons to a lodge.

3. *The I-hank-ton-wan-nan.*—Country, west of the Yanktons and north of the Missouri. Number of lodges, 350.

SIOUX OF THE MINNESOTA AND MISSISSIPPI.

1. *The Sisitonwans* (*Seeseetoans.*) Signification not satisfactorily ascertained. Supposed by the late JOSEPH RENVILLE, and others, to mean "The Marsh Village." Dr. WILLIAMSON, late missionary at Kaposia, speaking of the *Chongonsceton*, mentioned by CARVER, says "they are probably the same who are called by LE SUEUR, *Songasquitons*, and by HENNEPIN, *Chongasketon*, the ancestors of the *Sissitonwan*, as we infer from these facts, that the name *Sissiton* is not found in any of the older writers, all of whom mention the *Chongasketon*, putting them between the *Medewakantons* or *Isanyati*, and the *Ihanctons* and *Titons*, which is the limitation of the *Sissitons*, and the *Sissitonwan* of Lake Travers, who are still called the *Chonkasketonwan*, that is "Dwellers in a Fort." Present population, 2500 souls. Country, Lake Traverse and Coteau des Prairies.

2. *Wahpetonwans.*—Pronunciation, *Wahpaytoans.* Signification, Village of the Leaves, from the fact, probably, that they once lived in the forest. "The old home of this band is about the Little Rapids of the Minnesota. About 300 still reside there, but the majority have removed to Lac-qui-Parle and Big Stone Lake." In all, they number about 1000 or 1200 souls. In company with the *Sissitonwans*, they concluded a treaty with the United States at Traverse des Sioux, on July 23, 1851, in which they agreed to cede all of the lands east of Sioux River and Lake Traverse.

3. *The Wahpekutes.*—(*Wok-pay-koo-tays.*) Signification, The Leaf Shooters. Country, Cannon river and Blue Earth valleys. Population, 600 souls.

4. *The M'dewakantonwans.*—(*Med-ay-waw-kawn-t-wawns.*) With this division of the Dakotas, the inhabitants of Saint Paul are familiar. The signification of the word is "People of the Spirit Lake;" and they are so called be-

cause their chief residence was formerly *M'dewakon*, Spirit Lake—the Mille Lacs of our modern maps. When LE SUEUR built his post near the mouth of Blue Earth, they were residing at Mille Lacs, and from his narrative we learn that they were the first division of the Dakotas with whom the French traded, and on account of their possession of fire arms, they claimed to be superior to the other divisions of the nation.

At a very early date we learn from CHARLEVOIX, and the maps of his age, that there was a large French trading post on an island some 10 or 15 miles below the St. Croix River, in which the voyageurs deposited their furs and often wintered. Dakota tradition asserts that there was also a trading establishment a little above BANFIL'S mill, (Rice creek,) on the Mississippi. This induced them to leave their old haunts and erect their teepees around the house of the white man.

My friend, Rev. G. H. POND, to whose conversations and manuscripts I am largely indebted for the knowledge I have of this tribe, remarks that "the Indians would hunt in the direction where the interests of the trade required, and their home would be in the vicinity of the trade, where they learned to depend for a thousand little articles which gratified their desires, if they did not add to their comfort.

"When to this we add the fact, that traders taught them to plant corn, which actually took the place of wild rice, nothing was wanting to bring the *Medewakantonwans* south to the Minnesota river. Accordingly, tradition tells us that this division of the Dakotas no sooner became acquainted with traders, and the advantages of the trade, than they erected their teepees around the log hut of the white man, and hunted in the direction of the Minnesota river, returning in the 'rice gathering moon,' (September,) to the rice swamps nearest their friends. Hence the country

along Rice creek became a common centre for their division of the Dakota tribe."

Under the influence of French, and subsequently English traders, this division was divided into small bands, and the expert hunter became of as much consequence as the successful war chief, inasmuch as the skin of an otter, or martin, was far more valuable at Montreal, Paris, or London, than the clotted scalp of an. Ojibway. The oldest band of this division is BLACK DOG'S, formerly called *Tetankatáne*, (Old Village,) now called *Ma-ga-yu-teshni*. Their tradition asserts that many years ago, they all lived in one village on the banks of the Minnesota, near PINNISHAW'S village, and in sight of the residence of PETER QUINN.

When CARVER, the British traveler, more than half a century subsequent to the exploration of LE SUEUR, passed through the country, he found Sioux villages on the Mississippi. He remarks that "near the river St. Croix, reside three bands of the *Naudowessie* Indians, called the river bands," and adds that they numbered about 400 warriors. In 1805, about half a century ago, this division of the Dakotas was subdivided into four bands. PIKE, then a lieutenant, afterwards a general in the U. S. A., remarks: "It is necessary to divide the Sioux nation into the different bands as distinguished among themselves, in order to have a correct idea of them. Agreeably to this plan, I shall begin with the *Minowa Kantong*, who extend from Prairie des Chien to La Prairie des Francois, thirty-five miles up the St. Peters, (now Minnesota.) This band is subdivided into four divisions, under different chiefs. The *first* of which most generally reside at their village on the upper Iowa River, above the Prairie des Chien, and are commanded by WABASHAW, a chief whose father was considered the first chief of all the Sioux nation. The *second subdivision* resides near the head of Lake Pepin. The *third subdivision* resides between

Riviere au Cannon (Cannon River) and the entrance of the St. Peters (Minnesota.) Their principal hunting ground is on the St. Croix. They have a village at a place called the Grand Marais, (now Pig's Eye,) five miles below the entrance of the St. Peters (Minnesota.) It is situated on the east bank of the Mississippi, and consists of eleven log huts. The *fourth subdivision* is situated on the entrance of St. Peters to the Prairie des Francois. They have one village, nine miles up the St. Peters, on the north side."

KEATING, in his narrative of Major LONG'S Expedition to the Selkirk Settlement, in 1823, found the *M'dewakantonwans* divided into the same number of villages as at present, though their locality was not precisely the same. His enumeration is as follows:

	Lodges.	Warriors.	Souls.
1. Keoxa, (WABASHAW'S band,)	40	70	400
2. Eambosandata, (RED WING'S)	10	25	100
3. Kapoga, (PETIT CORBEAU'S,)	30	20	300
4. Oanoska, (BLACK DOG'S,)	30	40	200
5. Tetankatane,	10	30	150
6. Tacapa,	30	60	300
7. Weakaote,	10	10	50
			1500

At the present time [1853] there are seven bands of *M'dewakantonwans*. 1. Tintatonwan. Village on the prairie situated 25 miles from Fort Snelling, on the south side of Minnesota River. Principal chief, SHOK-PE-DAN, (Shokpedan,) or LITTLE SIX. 2. O-ya-tay-shee-ka (Bad People.) Principal chief, TA-CAN-KU-WASH-TAY, known by the whites as GOOD ROAD. Situation, eight miles from Fort Snelling, on the south side of Minnesota. 3. Reyataotonwe, (Island People,) so called because, until a very few years since, they lived at Lake Calhoun. Principal chief, MA-RPIE-WEE-KASH-TAH, or SKY-MAN. Situation, Oak Grove. Black Dog Village, also called Ma-ga-yu-tesh-ni. They do

not eat geese, because they have found a ready market for all that they killed at the garrison. Principal chief, MAZAROTA, "GREY IRON;" also called PA-WA-YA-ZAN, "My Head Aches." Situation, on the Minnesota, four miles above Mendota. 5. Kapoga, (Light,) because they were light-footed, or swift pedestrians. Principal chief, TA-O-YA-TE-DU-TA, "HIS SCARLET PEOPLE." Called by the whites, "LITTLE CROW." Situation, four miles below St. Paul, on west side of river. A quarter century ago they dwelt at "Pig's Eye," on the east side. 6. Remnica, (hill, water, and wood,) because it is near a high bluff, and well situated in respect to water and wood; commonly called Red Wing. Situation five miles above the head of Lake Pepin, at the base of La Grange bluff. Population 300. Contains twenty-four bark or log houses. 7. Ki-yuk-sa, "Break in two," (because they disregard an old custom, and marry their blood relations,) commonly known as WABASHAW'S village. Principal chief, WAKUTE, (Wahkootay,) BOUNDING WIND. Situation, Wabashaw Prairie, below Lake Pepin. In October, 1851, the population of the *M'dewakantonwans* was 1750 souls.

LANGUAGE.

The Dakotas, from the Mississippi to the plains beyond the Missouri, speak essentially the same language; a language difficult of acquisition, and wholly differing from the Ojibway, though allied to that of the Ottoes and Winnebagoes. After ten years close study by an observing missionary, he was obliged to confess that he had not mastered it, which admission forms quite a contrast to the vaunting statement of JONATHAN CARVER, who wintered in Minnesota in 1767. He remarks: "To render my stay as comfortable as possible, I first endeavored to learn their language. This I soon did, to make myself perfectly intelligible."

HENNEPIN made the first effort to collect a vocabulary of

the language, while he was a captive on Rum River, or Mille Lacs. His description of the attempt is very quaint: "Hunger pressed me to commence the formation of a vocabulary of their language, learned from the prattle of their children. When once I had learned the word *Taketchiabein*, which means "How call you this?" I began to be soon able to talk of such things as are most familiar. For want of an interpreter this difficulty was hard to surmount at first. For example, if I had a desire to know what "to run" was in their tongue, I was forced to increase my speed and actually run from one end of the lodge to the other, until they understood what I meant and had told me the word, which I presently set down in my dictionary."

The first printed vocabulary is that appended to CARVER'S travels, which is exceedingly incorrect, though it contains many Dakota words. During the present year, the Smithsonian Institution have published, under the patronage of the Historical Society of Minnesota, a quarto Grammar and Dictionary of this language, which will be gazed upon with interest by the "wise men of the east," long after the Dakota dialect has ceased to be spoken. This work is the fruit of eighteen years of anxious toil among this people, and is the combined work of the members of the Dakota Presbytery, edited by the Rev. S. R. RIGGS, of Lac-qui-Parle; and should be preserved in the library of every professional man, and lover of letters in the Territory.

The vocabulary of the Dakota language is, of course, meagre compared with that of the civilized European; for living, as they have until of late, far away from any but those of like habits and modes of thought, they are defective in many words which have their place in the dictionary of a Christian people. Accustomed to cut poles from a forest and spread buffalo skins thereon, under which they pass the night, and then decamp early the next day in quest of game

or the scalp of an enemy, they have no word which expresses the comfortable idea of our noble Saxon word "home." Still, in the language of a missionary, "it is in some of its aspects to be regarded as a noble language, fully adequate to all the felt wants of a nation, and capable of being enlarged, cultivated and enriched by the introduction of foreign stores of thought. Nothing can be found anywhere more full and flexible than the Dakota verb. The affixes, and reduplications, and pronouns, and prepositions, all come in to make of it such a stately pile of thought as is to my knowledge found nowhere else. A single paradigm presents more than a thousand variations."

RELIGION.

The Dakotas, in their religious belief, are polytheists. The hunter, as he passes over the plains, finds a granite boulder; he stops and prays to it, for it is "*Wakan*," mysterious or supernatural. At another time, he will pray to his dog; and at another time, to the sun, moon, or stars. In every leaf, in every stone, in every shrub, there is a spirit. It may be said of them, as COTTON MATHER said of the Massachusetts Indians, in his Life of ELIOT: "All the religion they have amounts to thus much: they believe that there are many gods, who made and own the several nations of the world. They believe that every remarkable creature has a peculiar god within or about it; there is with them a sun god or a moon god, and the like; and they cannot conceive but that the fire must be a kind of god, inasmuch as a spark of it will soon produce very strange effects. They believe that when any good or ill happens to them, there is the favor or anger of a god expressed in it." The Dakotas have greater and minor deities, and they are supposed to multiply as men and animals, and the superior to have power to exterminate the inferior.

OANKTAYHEE.—The JUPITER MAXIMUS of the Dakotas is styled OANKTAYHEE. Like the ancient Hebrews avoided speaking the name of JEHOVAH, they dislike to speak the name of this deity, but call him "*Taku-wakan*," or "That which is supernatural." This mighty god manifests himself as a large ox. His eyes are as large as the moon. He can haul in his horns and tail, or he can lengthen them, as he pleases. From him proceed invisible influences. In his horns and tail reside mighty powers of each sex.

He is said to have created the earth in the following manner: Assembling in grand conclave all of the water animals, he ordered them to bring up dirt from beneath the water, and proclaimed death to the disobedient. The beaver and others forfeited their lives. At last, the muskrat went beneath the waters, and after a long time, appeared at the surface nearly exhausted, with some dirt. From this, OANKTAYHEE fashioned the earth into a large circular plain.

He made man in this manner: The earth being finished, he took a deity, one of his own offspring, and grinding him to powder, sprinkled it upon the earth, and this produced many worms. The worms were then collected and scattered again. They matured into infants, and these were then collected and scattered and became full grown Dakotas.

The bones of the mastodon, the Dakotas think, are those of OANKTAYHEE, and they preserve them with the greatest of care in the medicine bag. It is the belief of the Dakotas that the Rev. R. HOPKINS, who was drowned at Traverse des Sioux on July 4th, 1851, was killed by OANKTAYHEE, who dwells in the waters, because Mr. H. had preached against him.

WAHKEENYAN.—The name of another one of the superior divinities is WAHKEENYAN. His teepee is supposed to be on a mound on the top of a high mountain, in the far West. The teepee or tent has four openings, with sentinels clothed

in red down. A butterfly is stationed at the east, a bear at the west, a fawn at the south, and a reindeer at the north entrance. He is supposed to be a gigantic bird, the flapping of whose wings makes thunder. He has a bitter enmity against OANKTAYHEE and attempts to kill his offspring. The high water of last year was supposed to be caused by his shooting through the earth, and allowing the water to flow out. When the lightning strikes their teepees or the ground, they think that OANKTAYHEE was near the surface of the earth, and that WAHKEENYAN in great rage, fired a hot thunderbolt at him.

TAKU-SHKAN-SHKAN.—This deity is supposed to be invisible, yet everywhere present. He is full of revenge, exceedingly wrathful, very deceitful, and a searcher of hearts. His favorite haunts are the four winds, and the granite boulders strewn on the plains of Minnesota. He is never so happy as when he beholds scalps warm and reeking with blood.

HEYOKA, (*the anti-natural god*).—There are four persons in this godhead. The *first* appears like a tall and slender man with two faces, like the JANUS of ancient Mythology. Apollo-like, he holds a bow in his hand streaked with red lightning, also a rattle of deer claws. The *second* is a little old man with a cocked hat and enormous ears, holding a yellow bow. The *third*, a man with a flute suspended from his neck. The *fourth* is invisible and mysterious, and is the gentle zephyr which moves the grass and causes the ripple of the water.

HEYOKA is a perfect paradox. He calls bitter sweet, and sweet bitter; he groans when he is full of joy; he laughs when he is in distress; he calls black white, and white black; when he wishes to tell the truth he speaks a lie, and when he desires to lie he speaks the truth; in winter he goes naked, and in summer he wraps up in buffalo robes.

The little hills on the prairies are called *Hay-o-kah tee*, or the house of HAY-O-KAH. Those whom he inspires can make the winds blow and the rain fall, the grass to grow and wither.

WAKAN, OR MEDICINE MAN.

In all nations where the masses are unenlightened, their spiritual nature is uncultivated, and they believe whatever a class of men pretending to have authority from the spirit world, may impose upon them. All ignorant communities are superstitious and easily priest-ridden. The early Britons looked upon the Druids as a supernatural and wonder-working class, and they fed and feared them. The *Wah-kawn*, or Medicine men, hold the same relation to the Dakotas as the Druids to the ancient Britons. They are the most powerful and influential of the tribe. They are looked upon as a species of demi-gods. They assert their origin to be miraculous. At first, they are spiritual existences, encased in a seed of some description of a winged nature, like the thistle. Wafted by the breeze to the dwelling place of the gods, they are received to intimate communion. After being instructed in relation to the mysteries of the spirit world, they go forth to study the character of all tribes. After deciding upon a residence, they enter the body of some one about to become a mother, and are ushered by her into the world. A great majority of the M'dewakantonwans are Medicine men.

When an individual desires to belong to this priesthood, he is initiated by what is termed a "Medicine Dance." This dance is said to have been instituted by OANKTAYHEE, the patron of Medicine men. The editor of the Dakota *Friend*, in a description of this dance, remarks:

"When a member is received into this Society, it is his duty to take the hot bath four days in succession. In the mean time, some of the *elders* of the society instruct him in the mysteries of the medicine, and

Wahmnoo-*h*ah—shell in the throat. He is also provided with a dish (*wojute*) and spoon. On the side of the dish is sometimes carved the head of some voracious animal, in which resides the spirit of EEYAH (glutton god). This dish is always carried by its owner to the Medicine Feast, and it is his duty, ordinarily, to eat all which is served up in it. GREY IRON has a dish which was given him at the time of his initiation, on the bottom of which is carved a bear complete. The candidate is also instructed with what paints and in what manner he shall paint himself, which must always be the same, when he appears in the dance. There is supernatural virtue in this paint and the manner in which it is applied, and those who have not been furnished with a better by the regular war prophets, wear it into battle as a life preserver. The bag contains besides, the claws of animals with the toanwan of which they can, it is believed, inflict painful diseases and death on whomsoever and whenever they desire.

"The candidate being thus duly prepared for initiation, and having made the necessary offerings for the benefit of the institution, on the evening of the day previous to the dance, a lodge is prepared, and from ten to twenty of the more substantial members pass the night in singing, dancing and feasting. In the morning, the tent is opened for the dance. After a few appropriate ceremonies preliminary to the grand operation, the candidate takes his place on a pile of blankets which he has contributed for the mysterious operation naked except the breech-cloth and moccasins, duly painted and prepared for the mysterious operation. An elder having been stationed in the rear of the novice, the master of the ceremonies, with his knee and hip joints bent to an angle of about forty-five degrees, advances with an unsteady, unnatural step, with his bag in his *hand*, uttering "*Heen, heen, heen,*" with great energy, and raising the bag near a painted spot on the breast of the candidate, gives the discharge, the person stationed in the rear gives him a push forward at the same instant, and as he falls headlong, throws the blankets over him. Then while the dancers gather around him and chant, the master throws off the covering, and chewing a piece of the bone of the Oanktay*h*ee, spirts it over him, and he revives and resumes a sitting posture. All then return to their seats except the master; he approaches and making indescribable noises, pats upon the breast of the novice, till the latter, in agonizing throes, heaves up the Wahmnoo-*h*ah or shell, which falls from his mouth upon the bag which had been previously spread before him for that purpose. Life being now completely restored, and with the mysterious shell in his open hand, the new made member passes around and exhibits it to all the members and to the wondering bystanders, and the ceremonies of initiation are closed.

The dance continues, interspersed with shooting each other, rests, smoking and taking refreshments, till they have jumped to the music of four sets of singers. Besides vocal music, they make use of the drum and the gourd-shell rattle. The following chants which are used in the dance, will best exhibit the character of this mysterious institution of the Oanktayhee :

Waduta ohna micage.
Waduta ohna micage
Miniyata ite wakan de maqu,
Tunkanixdan

(TRANSLATION.)

He created it for me inclosed in red down.
He created it for me inclosed in red down.
He in the water with a mysterious visage gave me this,
My grandfather.

Tunkanixdan pejihuta wakan micage,
He wicake.
Miniyata oicage wakan kin maqu ye,
Tunkanixdan ite kin yuwinta wo.
Wahutopa yuha ite yuwinto wo.

(TRANSLATION.)

My grandfather created for me mysterious medicine,
That is true.
The mysterious being in the water gave it to me.
Stretch out your hand before the face of my grandfather,
Having a quadruped, stretch out your hand before him."

Where the science of medicine is not understood, the inhabitants are very superstitious concerning the sick. Those who are prominent in their devotion to the sacred rites of a heathen tribe, generally act as physicians. The Druids of the early Britons performed the duties of doctors, and the conjurers, or medicine men, as they are generally termed, are called to attend the sick Dakotas. This tribe of Indians (as is natural) are well acquainted with the bones of the body, but no Dr. HUNTER has yet risen among them to explain the circulation of the blood, and therefore they have but a single word for nerves, arteries and veins. When a young man is sick, he is generally well watched, but old persons, and those that have some deformity, are often neg-

lected. To effect a cure, they often practice what is called steaming. They erect a small tent covered with thick buffalo robes, in which they place some hot stones. Stripping the sick person of his blanket, they place him in the tent. Water is then thrown upon the hot stones, which creates considerable vapor. After the patient has been confined in this close tent for some time, and has perspired profusely, they occasionally take him out and plunge him into the waters of an adjacent river or lake.

This custom is very ancient. One of the first white men who appear to have resided amongst them, was a Franciscan priest named HENNEPIN. He was made their prisoner in the year 1680, while traveling on the Mississippi, above the Wisconsin river. The Dakotas took him to their villages on the shores of Rum river, at Mille Lac, where he was quartered in a chief's lodge, whose name was AQUIPAGUETIN. The chief observing that HENNEPIN was much fatigued, ordered an oven to be made, which, to use the words of the Franciscan, "he ordered me to enter, stark naked, with four savages. The oven was covered with buffalo hides, and in it they placed red-hot flint and other stones. They ordered me to hold my breath, as long as I could. As soon as the savages that were with me let go their breath, which they did with a great force, AQUIPAGUETIN began to sing. The others seconded him, and laying their hands on my body began to rub, and at the same time cry bitterly. I was near fainting and forced to leave the oven. At my coming out, I could scarcely take up my cloak. However, they continued to make me sweat thrice a week, which at last restored me to my former vigor."

When a Dakota is very sick, the friends call in a conjurer or medicine man. Before we proceed, it is proper to explain the meaning of the term "medicine man." Anything that is mysterious or wonderful, the Dakotas call "*Wahkawn.*"

The early explorers and traders in Minnesota were French, and they always call a doctor "medicine." As the Indian doctors are all dealers in mysteries, the word "medicine," has at last obtained a local signification, meaning anything that is mysterious or unaccountable. A "medicine man" means then, a doctor who calls to his aid charms and incantations. The medicine men are divided into war prophets and conjurers or doctors.

A Dakota, when he is sick, believes that he is possessed by the spirit of some animal, or insect, or enemy. The medicine men are supposed to have great power of suction in their jaws, by which they can draw out the spirit that afflicts the patient and thus restore him to health. They are much feared by all the tribe. The doctor is called to see a sick person by sending some one with a present of a horse or blankets or something as valuable. The messenger sometimes carries a bell and rings around the lodge until the conjurer makes his appearance; at other times he bears to the Doctor's lodge a lighted pipe, and presenting it to him, places his hands on his head and moans.

"The person sent to call on the Doctor, strips himself for running, retaining only his breech-cloth, and carrying a bell. He enters the lodge, and without further ceremony, strikes the Doctor with his foot, jingles his bell, and suddenly issuing from the lodge, runs with all his might for the sick man's lodge, with the Doctor at his heels. If the latter overtakes and kicks him before he reaches the lodge, he does not proceed any further, but returns home. Another person is then despatched, and it is not until one is sent that is too swift for him, that the Doctor's services can be secured."—(*Dakota Friend, June*, 1852.)

The Doctor having entered the tent, without touching the patient, begins to strip himself, leaving nothing upon his body but the breech cloth and moccasins. Having obtained a sacred rattle, which is nothing more than a dried gourd, filled with a few kernels of corn, or beads, he begins to shake and sing in unearthly monotones. He now gets upon his knees, and to use a vulgarism, "crawls on all fours" up to his patient. After a few moments we see him rise again retching violently, and picking up a bowl of water thrusts his face therein, and begins to make a gurgling noise. Into this bowl he professed to expectorate the spirit which has incited the disease. The Doctor having decided what animal has possessed his patient, he has an image of the animal made out of bark and placed outside near the tent door, in a vessel of water. Mr. PRESCOTT, U. S. Interpreter at Fort Snelling, in a communication upon this subject says: "The animal made of bark is to be shot. Two or three Indians are in waiting, standing near the bowl, with loaded guns, ready to shoot when the conjurer gives the signal. To be sure that the conjuring shall have the desired effect, a woman must stand astride the bowl, when the men fire into it, with her dress raised as high as the knees. The men are instructed how to act by the conjuror; and as soon as he makes his appearance out of doors, they all fire into the bowl; and blow the little bark animal to pieces. The woman steps aside, and the juggler makes a jump at the bowl on his hands and knees, and commences blubbering in the water. While this is going on, the woman has to jump on the juggler's back and stand there a moment, then she gets off, and as soon as he has finished his incantations, the woman takes him by the hair of his head and pulls him back into the lodge. If there are

any fragments found of the animal that has been shot, they are buried. If this does not cure, a similar ceremony is performed, but some other kind of animal is shaped out."

FONDNESS FOR WAR.

Among the earliest songs to which a Dakota child listens are those of war. As soon as he begins to totter about, he carries as a plaything a miniature bow and arrow. The first thing he is taught as great and truly noble is taking a scalp, and he pants to perform an act which is so manly. At the age of sixteen he is often on the war path. When a boy is of the proper age to go to war, he is presented with weapons, or he makes a war club. He then consecrates certain parts of animals, which he vows not to eat. After he has killed an enemy he is at liberty to eat of any one of those portions of an animal from which he agreed to abstain. If he kills another person, the prohibition is taken off from another part until finally he has emancipated himself from his oath by his bravery. Before young men go out on a war party, they endeavor to propitiate the patron deity by a feast. During the hours of night they celebrate the "armor feast," which is distinguished by drumming, singing, and agonizing shrieks.

The war prophets or priests, by the narrating of pretended dreams, or by inspiring oratory incite the tribe against an enemy. If a party are successful in securing scalps, they paint themselves black and return home in mad triumph. As they approach their village, those who are there run forth to greet them, and strip them of their clothes and supply them with others. The scalp is very carefully prepared for exhibition, being painted red and stretched upon a hoop which is fastened to a

pole. If the scalp is from a man it is decked with an eagle's feather; if from a woman with a comb. At a scalp dance which we once attended at Kaposia, the braves stood on one side of the circle drumming and rattling, and shouting a monotonous song, reminding one of a ditty of the chimney sweeps of a city. The women, standing opposite to the men, advanced and retreated from the men, squeaking in an unearthly manner a sort of chorus. This is the chief dance in which the women engage. If a scalp is taken in summer, they dance until the falling of the leaves; if in winter, until the leaves begin to appear. When the scalp is freshly painted, as it is four times, it is a great occasion. After their mad orgies have ceased, they burn or bury it.

You may have noticed, perhaps, an eagle's feather with a red spot, in the head of some of those Indians walking through our streets. It is a badge that the possessor has killed a foe. If the feather is notched and bordered with red, or dipped and topped with red, it signifies that a throat has been cut. The red hand on a blanket shows that the woman has been wounded by an enemy; but the black hand, that he has killed his enemy. The Dakotas, like other savages in war, show no sympathy for sex, infancy or old age. At Pokeguma, the Kaposia band scalped two little girls that attended the mission school; buried a tomahawk in their brains, severed the hands from the bodies, and then set them up in the sand.* Mr. RIGGS narrates an incident of some of the upper bands of Dakotas pursuing a weak Ojibwa mother. To save her life she swam a stream. Half naked she reached the opposite bank, and dropped down too much exhausted to attempt to proceed. With the delight of demons just let loose from hell, her pursuers came over, stabbed and scalped her. Prematurely ushering her

*See battle of Lake Pokeguma. Page 177.

unborn babe into existence, they dashed its brains out upon the ground. Returning with a poor, sick mother's scalp, they came home as "conquering heroes come," and were received with pride and honor. Such is savage warfare, and the savage idea of what constitutes true glory. But, notwithstanding their horrid mode of warfare, they are not destitute of affection for their own offspring or friends.

FAMILY AFFECTION.

They assert that a mother is with her absent children whenever they think of her, and that she feels a pain in her breast (or heart) whenever anything of moment happens to them. When a child dies, like RACHEL, they refuse to be comforted. The following paraphrase of the lament of a bereaved Indian mother, prepared for the "Dakota Friend," is full of poetry: "*Me choonkshe, me choonkshe,* (my daughter my daughter,) alas! alas! My hope, my comfort has departed, my heart is very sad. My joy is turned into sorrow, and my song into wailing. Shall I never behold thy sunny smile? Shall I never more hear the music of thy voice? The Great Spirit has entered my lodge in anger, and taken thee from me, my first born and only child. I am comfortless and must wail out my grief. The pale faces repress their sorrow, but we children of nature must give vent to ours or die. *Me choonkshe, me choonkshe.*

"The light of my eyes is extinguished; all, all is dark. I have cast from me all comfortable clothing and robed myself in comfortless skins, for no clothing, no fire, can warm thee, my daughter. Unwashed and uncombed, I will mourn for thee, whose long locks I can never more braid; and whose cheeks I can never again tinge with vermillion. I will cut off my dishevelled hair, for my grief is great, *me choonkshe, me choonkshe.* How can I survive thee? How can I be happy, and you a homeless wanderer to the spirit

land? How can I eat if you are hungry? I will go to the grave with food for your spirit. Your bowl and spoon are placed in your coffin for use on the journey. The feast for your playmates has been made at the place of interment. Knowest thou of their presence? *Me choonkshe, me choonkshe.*

"When Spring returns, the choicest of ducks shall be your portion. Sugar and berries also, shall be placed near your grave. Neither grass nor flowers shall be allowed to grow thereon. Affection for thee, will keep the little mound desolate, like the heart from which thou art torn. My daughter, I come, I come. I bring you parched corn. Oh, how long will you sleep? The wintry winds wail your requiem. The cold earth is your bed, and the colder snow thy covering. I would that they were mine. I will lie down by thy side. I will sleep once more with you. If no one discovers me, I shall soon be as cold as thou art, and together we will sleep that long, long sleep from which I cannot awake thee, *me choonkshe, me choonkshe.*"

DAKOTA MARRIAGE.

A Dakota obtains his wives (for they are polygamists) not by courtship, but by a practice as old as the book of Genesis, that of purchase. A young man, when he wants a wife, announces the fact and begs his friends to give him an outfit. He then proceeds to the parents and makes a purchase. The ancestors of some of the first families of Virginia, purchased their wives from the London company, for one hundred and twenty or fifty pounds of tobacco, at three shillings a pound, but a Dakota pays a higher price for the article and takes more. Usually they pay a horse, or four or five guns, or six or eight blankets, a value equal to thirty or forty dollars.

The chief of the Kaposia band has three wives, who are

sisters. His second wife he purchased of her father while he was drunk, and she but ten years of age. It is said that a friend throws a blanket over the bride and bears her to the lodge of the purchaser. Though a son-in-law lives near the parents of his wife, he never names or talks to them, and never looks his wife's mother in the face. He thinks it is respectful to act in this manner. He occupies a large lodge, while his wife's parents frequently live in a small one, in the rear, whom he supplies with game until he has a family of his own. Should the parents accidentally meet him, they hide their faces. If the mother starts for the daughter's lodge and perceives her husband inside, she does not enter.

If a woman proves faithless to her husband, she is frequently shot or has her nose cut off. This latter practice was noticed by LE SUEUR, in 1700. There is much system in relation to the place in which each should sit in a Dakota lodge. The wife always occupies a place next to the entrance, on the right. The seat of honor, to which a white man is generally pointed, is directly opposite to the door of the lodge.

Like the rest of mankind, they are by no means insensible to flattery. When a Dakota thinks that he cannot obtain a horse, or some other article that he wishes, by a simple request, he will take a number of wood-peckers' heads and sing over them in the presence of the individual he hopes to influence, recounting the honorable deeds of the man to whom he gives the birds' heads. This process acts like a charm, and is often successful.

LOVE OF FINERY.

A Parisian dandy is known the world over, but he is not to be compared with a Dakota fop. An Indian young man passes hours in attiring himself. That green streak of

paint upon the cheek; those yellow circles around the eyes, and those spots upon the forehead, have cost him much trouble and frequent gazings into his mirror, which he always keeps with him. That head-dress, which appears to hang so carelessly, is all designed. None knows better than he how to attitudinize and play the majestic or stoic. No moustachioed clerk, with curling locks, and kid gloves, and cambric handkerchief, and patent-leather boots, and glossy hat, is half so conscious as he who struts past us with his streaming blanket and ornamented and uncovered head, holding a pipe or a gun in the place of a cane, and wearing moccasins in the place of boots. The rain upon his nicely decorated head and face, causes as much of a flutter as it does when it falls upon the hat of the nice young man who smokes his cigar and promenades in Broadway.

SPORTS.

When the Dakotas are not busy with war, or the chase, or the feasts and dances of their religion, time hangs heavily, and they either sleep or resort to some game to keep up an excitement. One of their games is like "Hunt the Slipper;" a bullet or plum stone is placed by one party in one of four moccasins or mittens and sought for by the opposite. There is also the play of "plum stones." At this game much is often lost and won. Eight plum stones are marked with certain devices. This game is played by young men and females. If, after shaking in a bowl, stones bearing certain devices turn up, the game is won.

The favorite and most exciting game of the Dakotas is ball playing. It appears to be nothing more than a game which was often played by the writer in school-boy days, and which was called "*shinny*." A smooth place is chosen on the prairie or frozen river or lake. Each player has a stick three or four feet long and crooked at the lower end,

with deer strings tied across forming a sort of a pocket. The ball is made of a rounded knot of wood, or clay covered with hide, and is supposed to possess supernatural qualities.. Stakes are set at a distance of a quarter or half mile, as bounds. Two parties are then formed, and the ball being thrown up in the centre, the contest is for one party to carry the ball from the other beyond one of the bounds. Two or three hundred men are sometimes engaged at once. On a summer's day, to see them rushing to and fro, painted in divers colors, with no article of apparel, with feathers in their heads, bells around their wrists, and fox and wolf tails dangling behind, is a wild and noisy spectacle. The eye-witnesses among the Indians become more interested in the success of one or the other of the parties than any crowd at a horse race, and frequently stake their last piece of property on the issue of the game.

Last summer, on one Sunday morning, SHAKOPAY or LITTLE SIX'S band moved down to Oak Grove, the residence of GIDEON H. POND, late editor of the "*Dakota Friend*," to play ball against the three bands of GOOD ROAD, SKY MAN, and GREY IRON. He thus describes the scene:

"On Sunday, July, 13th, 1852, SIX'S band moved down to Oak Grove, previous arrangements having been made, to play against the three bands of GOOD ROAD, SKY MAN, and GREY IRON. The next day the game came off. The property bet was sixteen guns, six of which were double-barrels; eight horses and blankets, calicoes, belts, garters, &c., without number—worth at least $800. This was met by the same, or what was of equal value, by the other party—making the whole amount staked on the game $1,600. Not far from two hundred and fifty men and boys joined in the play, and the spectators numbered between two and three hundred. SIX'S band won the prize. Two more games were played, both of which were also won by SIX'S band, but the amount of property staked on the last two games was much less than that named above, say $1,000 for the two, which makes $2,600. And then they adjourned till next day.

"*Tuesday, 15th.*—At 11 o'clock the ball was again set in motion, and the stake was taken by those who lost yesterday; and on the second

game, that which was lost on the first game yesterday, was recovered by GOOD ROAD, SKY MAN and GREY IRON. The success to-day, was attributed to the wakon virtues of the ball which was used. It was made long ago by the old War-prophet, EHAKEKU, formerly of WABASHAW's band; the same who fired the old council-house at St. Peters, some years ago. Near the close of the play, VISIBLE-MOUTH, a young "Medicine-man," received a blow from a ball club on his side immediately over the place where the Medicine-god lies in him, which felled him to the earth. It was said that the god was stupefied by the blow; but was soon reanimated by the wakon applications of the Medicine-men present. After the victors had challenged SIX to play another game to-morrow, they adjourned to the lodges to despatch a barrel of pork, two kegs of lard and ten sacks of corn, (which SKY-MAN's farmer had just arrived with from the Agency,) and make up the stake for to-morrow.

"*Wednesday*, 16*th*, 10 *o'clock.*—Parties met. Present the same as yesterday, viz: SIX against GOOD ROAD, SKY MAN and GREY IRON. Guns, blankets, coats, calicoes, tomahawks, pipes, beads, garters, belts, &c., &c., to the value of $300 or $400 were tied up, and the ball started. SIX lost and the stake was renewed. SIX lost again; but while a new stake was being made up, a dispute arose between the parties concerning some of the property which had been won from SIX's band, but which they kept back. They broke up in a row, as they usually do. GREY IRON's band leaving the ground first, ostensibly for the reason above named, but *really* because SIX's band had just been reinforced by the arrival of a company from LITTLE CROW's band. Thus ended the ball play of three days continuance, during which time not less than $4,600 worth of property had been bet. How can Dakotas be otherwise than poor?"

Like the ancient Greeks, they also practice foot racing. Before proceeding to other topics, it is well to give a brief account of the Dog dance and the Fish dance. The first is seldom performed, and is said to be peculiar to this nation. A dog being thrown into the midst of the crowd of dancers, is speedily "tomahawked" by one of the sacred men. The liver is then extracted and cut into slices, after which it is hung upon a pole. Now the dancers hop around, their mouths apparently watering with the desire for a bite. After a time some one dances up to the pole and takes a mouthful of the raw liver. He is then succeeded by others, until the whole is devoured. If another dog is thrown into the circle the same process is repeated.

"Not long since a Dakota chief was sick, and the gods signified to him that if he would make a *Raw-fish Feast*, he would live till young cranes' wings are grown. So he must make the feast or die. Fifteen or twenty others, who like himself were inspired by the cormorant, joined with him in the ceremonies of the feast, of which the chief was master.

"After one or two days spent in 'vapor baths' and 'armor feasts,' a tent is prepared, opening towards the east; the railing extending from the tent is composed of bushes. Within the enclosure each of those who are to participate in the feast has a bush set, in which is his nest. Early in the morning, on the day of the feast, the master informs two others where the fish are to be taken, and sends them forth to spear and bring them in, designating the kind of fish and the number to be taken. On this occasion two pike, each about one foot in length, were taken, and after having been painted with vermillion and ornamented with red down about the mouth and along the back, were laid on some branches in the enclosure, entire as they were taken from the water. Near the fish were placed birch-bark dishes, filled with sweetened water. Their implements of war were solemnly exhibited in the tent, and the dancers, who were naked except the belt, breech-cloth and moccasins, and fantastically painted, and adorned with down, red and white, being in readiness, the singers, of whom there are four ranks, commenced to sing, each rank in its turn. The singing was accompanied with the drum and rattle.

"The cormorant dancers danced to the music, having a little season of rest as each rank of singers ended their chant, until the fourth rank struck the drum and made the welkin ring with their wild notes; then, like starving beasts, they tore off pieces of the fish, scales, bones, entrails and all, with their teeth, and swallowed it, at the same time drinking their sweetened water, till both the pike were consumed except the heads and fins and large bones, the latter of which were deposited in the nests. Thus the feast ended, and the chief will of course live till the young cranes can fly. At the close of the ceremony, whatever of clothing is worn on the occasion is offered in sacrifice to the gods."

Already sufficient has been said to show that the Dakotas are Odd Fellows; but not the half has been told. Among the Ojibways there are totems, or family symbols, of the name of some ancestor, which is honored as much as the coat of arms among the nobility of Europe. If a man dies, his totem is marked upon his grave post with as much formality as the heraldic design of an English nobleman. It was this custom among the Algonquin Indians, that led the

unscrupulous LA HONTAN to publish engravings of the fabulous coats of arms of the various savage nations of the North-West. The arms of the "*Outchipoues* (Ojibways) is an eagle perched upon a rock, devouring the brain of an owl. Those of the Sioux, or Dakotas, is a squirrel perched upon a citron or pumpkin and gnawing its rind. While the Dakotas do not appear to have totems or family designs, like the Ojibways, yet from time immemorial, secret clans with secret signs have existed among them. It is impossible to force any member of these clans to divulge any of their proceedings. CULBERTSON, who visited the Dakotas of the Missouri in 1850 at the request of the Smithsonian Institution, was struck with this peculiarity. His remarks, for the entire accuracy of which we do not vouch, are as follows:

"The Sioux nation has no general council, but each tribe and band determine its own affairs. These bands have some ties of interest analogous to the ties of our secret societies. The 'Crow-Feather-in-Cap' band are pledged to protect each other's wives and to refrain from violating them. If the wife of one of their number is stolen by another of their number, she is returned, the band either paying the thief for returning the stolen property or forcing him to do it whether he will or not. * * * * The 'Strong-Heart' band is pledged to protect each other in their horses. Should a 'Strong-Heart,' from a distance steal some horses, and they be claimed by a brother 'Strong Heart,' his fellows would tell him that he must give them up or they would give the robbed man some of their own horses, regarding it as the greatest disgrace to themselves to allow him to go away on foot. And thus I suppose that all these bands have some common object that unites them together, and here we have the origin of this system of banding. In the absence of law, it takes the place of our system of justice."

MODE OF LIFE.

The heathen, in their manner of life, are essentially the same all over the world. They are all given up to uncleanness. As you walk through a small village, in a christian land, you notice many appearances of thrift and neatness.

The day-laborer has his lot fenced and his rude cabin white-washed. The widow, dependent upon her own exertions and alone in the world, finds pleasure in training the honey-suckle or the morning-glory to peep in at her windows. The poor seamstress, though obliged to lodge in some upper room, has a few flower-pots upon her window-sill, and perhaps a canary bird hung in a cage outside. But in an Indian village, all is filth and litter. There are no fences around their bark huts. White-washing is a lost art if it was ever known amongst them. Worn out moccasins, tattered blankets, old breech cloths and pieces of leggins are strewn in confusion all over the ground. Water, except in very warm weather, seldom touches their bodies, and the pores of their skins become filled with grease and the paint with which they daub themselves. Neither Monday, or any other day, is known as washing day. Their cooking utensils are encrusted with dirt, and used for a variety of purposes. A year or two ago, a band of Indians, with their dogs, ponies, women and children, came on board of a steamboat on the Upper Mississippi on which the writer was traveling. Their evening meal, consisting of beans and wild meat, was prepared on the lower deck, beneath the windows of the ladies' cabin. After they had used their fingers in the place of forks, and consumed the food which they had cooked in a dirty iron pan, one of the mothers, removing the blanket from one of her children, stood it up in the same pan, and then dipping some water out of the river, began to wash it from head to foot. The rest of the band looked on with Indian composure, and seemed to think that an iron stew-pan was just as good for washing babes as for cooking beans. When there is so much dirt, of course vermin must abound. They are not much distressed by the presence of those insects which are so nauseating to the civilized man. Being without shame, a common sight of

a summer's eve, is a woman or child with her head in another's lap, who is kindly killing the fleas and other vermin that are burrowing in the long, matted and uncombed hair.

The Dakotas have no regular time for eating. Dependent as they are, upon hunting and fishing for subsistence, they vascillate from the proximity of starvation to gluttony. It is considered uncourteous to refuse an invitation to a feast, and a single man will sometimes attend six or seven in a day, and eat intemperately. Before they came in contact with the whites, they subsisted upon venison, buffalo and dog meat. The latter animal has always been considered a delicacy by these epicures. In illustration of these remarks, I transcribe an extract from a journal of a missionary, who visited Lake Travers in April, 1839:

"Last evening at dark, our Indians chiefly returned, having eaten to the full of buffalo and dog meat. I asked one how many times they were feasted. He said 'six, and if it had not become dark so soon, we should have been called three or four times more.' * * * This morning, 'BURNING-EARTH,' (Chief of the Sissetonwan Dakotas,) came again to our encampment, and removing we accompanied him to his village at the south-western end of the Lake. * * * In the afternoon, I visited the chief; found him just about to leave for a dog feast to which he had been called. When he had received some papers of medicine I had for him, he left saying, 'The Sioux (Dakotas) love dog meat as well as white people do pork.'"

In this connection, it should be stated that the Dakotas have no regular hours of retiring. Enter a new England village after nine o'clock and all is still. Walk through Philadelphia after the State-House clock has struck ten or eleven, and everybody and thing, hacks, hackmen, and those on foot, appear to be hastening to rest; the lamp in the store, the entry and parlor is extinguished and lights begin to flicker in the chambers and in the garrets, and soon the city is all quiet, except rogues and disorderly persons and those who are set to watch them; and you can hear the clock tick in the entry, and the watchman's slow step as

he walks up and down the street. But there is nothing like this in an Indian village. They sleep whenever inclination prompts; some by day and some by night.

If you were to enter the Dakota village, four miles below Saint Paul, at midnight, you might, perhaps, see some few huddled around the fire of a teepee, (as they call their wigwams), listening to the tale of an old warrior, who has often engaged in bloody conflict with their ancient and present enemies, the Ojibwas; or you might hear the unearthly chanting of some medicine man, endeavoring to exorcise some spirit from a sick man; or you might see some lounging about, whiffing out of their sacred red stone pipes, the smoke of kinnikinnick, a species of willow bark; or you might see some of the young men sneaking around a lodge, and waiting for the lodge-fire to cease to flicker before they perpetrate some deed of sin; or you might hear a low, wild drumming, and then a group of men, all naked, with the exception of a girdle round the loins, daubed with vermillion and other paints, all excited, and engaged in some of their grotesque dances; or a portion may be firing their guns in the air, being alarmed by some imaginary evil, and supposing that an enemy is lurking around.

DAKOTA FEMALES

Deserve the sympathy of every tender heart. From early childhood they lead "worse than a dog's life." Like the Gibeonites of old, they are the hewers of wood and the drawers of water for the camp. On a winter's day, a Dakota mother is often obliged to travel five or eight or ten miles, with the lodge, camp kettle, ax, child and small dogs upon her back. Arriving late in the afternoon at the appointed camping ground, she clears off the snow from the spot upon which she is to erect the teepee. She then, from the nearest marsh or grove, cuts down some poles about ten

feet in length. With these she forms a frame work for the tent. Unstrapping her pack, she unfolds the tent cover, which is seven or eight buffalo skins stitched together, and brings the bottom part to the base of the frame. She now obtains a long pole, and fastening it to the skin covering, she raises it. The ends are drawn around the frame until they meet, and the edges of the covering are secured by wooden skewers or tent pins. The poles are then spread out on the ground, so as to make as large a circle inside as she desires. Then she or her children, proceed to draw the skins down so as to make them fit tightly. An opening is left where the poles meet at the top, to allow the smoke to escape. The fire is built upon the ground in the centre of the lodge. Buffalo skins are placed around, and from seven to fifteen lodge there through a winter's night, with far more comfort than a child of luxury upon a bed of down. Water is to be drawn and wood cut for the night. The camp kettle is suspended and preparations made for the evening meal. If her lord and master has not by this time arrived from the day's hunt, she is busied in mending up moccasins. Such is the scene which has been enacted by hundreds of females this very winter in Minnesota. How few of the gentler sex properly appreciate the everlasting obligations they are under to the son of MARY, after the flesh, who was the first that taught the true sphere and the true mission of woman.

The Dakota wife is subject to all of the whims of her husband, and when he is in bad humor, wo unto her. As a consequence, the females of this nation are not possessed of very happy faces, and frequently resort to suicide to put an end to earthly troubles. Uncultivated, and made to do the labor of beasts, when they are desperate, they act more like infuriated brutes than creatures of reason. Some years ago a lodge was pitched at the mouth of the St. Croix. The

wife, fearing her husband would demand the whiskey keg when he came from hunting, hid it. Upon his return, she refused to tell him where it was, and he flogged her. In her rage, she went off and hung herself. At Oak Grove, a little girl, the pet of her grandmother, was whipped by her father. The old woman sympathizing with the child, flew into a passion and went off. At last, the screaming of the grandchild was heard, for she had discovered her "grandma" hanging by a portage collar from a burial scaffold, An assistant female teacher in the mission school, being attracted by the noise, went and cut the "old granny" down before life had fled. On another occasion, at the same place, a son-in-law refused to give his mother some whiskey, and in a rage she went on to a burial scaffold, tied the portage strap around her neck, and was about to jump off, when Mr. POND came up to her and cut the strap. Still she did not relinquish her intention of suicide. At last, he climbed on to the scaffold and told her he would stay there as long as she. Other females from the village then came out and succeeded in persuading her to live a little while longer. In this connection, an incident may be told which,for romantic interest,cannot be surpassed. The girl since the occurrence, which we substantially narrate as we find it in the "Pioneer," without being responsible for every particular, has been a pupil in the Rev. Mr. HANCOCK'S mission school at Remnica or Red Wing village.

In the spring of 1850, a young girl, fourteen years of age, shot another girl with whom she was quarreling. The deceased was the daughter of a sullen man by the name of BLACK WHISTLE. The affrighted girl, after she fired the gun, fled to the traders house, and was by him aided to make her escape down to WABASHAW'S village. While stopping at RED WING'S village, some hundred miles from the place where the deed was committed, the incensed father over-

took her. His first plan was to carry her home and sacrifice her at his daughter's burial scaffold, but through the influence of some of the whites he changed his plan, and resolved to make her his slave or his wife. For some time she endured what to her was a living death, but on one night she suddenly disappeared. Not many days after, there appeared at GOOD ROAD'S village, a young Indian boy, stating that he was a Sisseton and had just arrived from the plains. He was well received, no one dreaming that he was the Indian maid. While in this disguise, she went out one day to spear fish, when her husband and enemy, the revengeful father of the girl she had shot, met her, and inquired for her, and avowed his intention to kill her. She very coolly assented to the justice of what he said and left. At last, her real sex being suspected, she came down to LITTLE CROW or Kaposia village. Here she passed herself off as a Winnebago orphan; which disguise succeeded for a time. But soon she was suspected, and again took up her flight, and at last took up her residence at RED WING'S village, though for a long time no one knew what had become of her.

THE CHIEFS.

An Indian chief is a man of comparatively little importance among his tribe; nor does he in dress and mode of living differ from others. Previous to their intercourse with Europeans, the man who was bravest in war was chief. Now the chiefs are civil chiefs, and the descendants of those that have been created such by the whites. A chief cannot act except the tribe are willing, and he is as particular as an aspiring demagogue not to express an opinion differing from that of the majority. The first civil chief is said to have been WABASHAW. The following is said to have been the history of his obtaining the title. After the cession of Canada to the British by the French, there was an English

trading post in the vicinity of St. Paul. The trader, whom the Indians called PAGONTA, (Mallard Duck,) was shot by an Indian who disliked him. In consequence of this, they had no trader the following winter, and in the spring a council was held, and it was resolved that the braves of the band should take and deliver up to the authorities of Quebec the murderer. About one hundred men and women embarked on the embassy. By the time they had paddled to Green Bay, many grew faint-hearted and deserted, and before they left there only half a dozen, including women, were left. WABASHAW, the grandfather of the present chief, a true Spartan spirit, was the man who infused courage into the little remnant. After danger by land and by water, he reached Quebec, assumed the guilt of the murderer, and delivered himself as an atonement for his suffering tribe.

The English were favorably impressed by his bearing, and learning that the Dakotas lived in seven bands, they hung a medal around his neck, and gave him six more to be delivered to one of the bravest men of the other bands. WABASHAW returned the "Father of his Country," but a victim of envy. He died an exile from his band on the Hoka or Root River.

The Dakotas suffered much for want of law. The individual who desires to improve his condition is not only laughed at but maltreated. Moreover, if he acquires any property, there is no law which secures it to him, and it is liable to be taken away at any time by any ill-disposed person. Until this state of things is altered by the interposition of the United States government, or the interposition of Providence in some unforeseen way, there is little hope of elevating this tribe. Their missionary will be forced to look upon this degradation, and say in view thereof, "my whole head is sick, my whole heart faint."

PECULIARITIES.

The Superstitions and peculiarities of the Dakotas are so various that we can but barely glance at them. They count years by winters; and compute distances by the number of nights passed upon a journey; their months are computed by moons, and are as follows:

1. WI-TERI, *January;* the hard moon.
2. WICATA-WI, *February;* the raccoon moon.
3. ISTAWICAZAYAN-WI, *March;* the sore-eye moon.
4. MAGAOKADA-WI, *April;* the moon in which the geese lay eggs; also called Wokada-wi; and sometimes Watopapi-wi, the moon when the streams are again navigable.
5. WOJUPI-WI, *May;* the planting moon.
6. WAJUSTECASA-WI, *June;* the moon when the strawberries are red.
7. CANPASAPA-WI, and WASUNPA-WI, *July;* the moon when the choke cherries are ripe, and when the geese shed their feathers.
8. WASUTON-WI, *August;* the harvest moon.
9. PSINHNAKETU-WI, *September;* the moon when rice is laid up to dry.
10. WI-WAJUPI, *October;* the drying rice moon; sometimes written Wazupi-wi.
11. TAKIYURA-WI, *November;* the deer rutting moon.
12. TAHECAPSUN-WI, *December;* the moon when the deer shed their horns.

They believe that the moon is made of something as good as green-cheese. The popular notion is that when the moon is full, a great number of very small mice commence nibbling until they have eaten it up. A new moon then begins to grow until it is full, then it is devoured.

Though almost every Dakota young man has his pocket mirror, a maid does not look at a looking-glass, for it is "wakan" or sacred. Almost everything that the man owns is wakan or sacred, but nothing that the woman possesses is so esteemed. If one has a toothache, it is supposed to be caused by a wood-pecker concealed within, or the gnawing of a worm. Coughs are occasioned by the sacred men operating through the medium of the down of the goose, or the hair of the buffalo. It is con-

sidered a sin to cut a stick that has once been placed on the fire, or to prick a piece of meat with an awl or needle. It is wrong for a woman to smoke through a black pipe-stem, and for a man to wear a woman's moccasins. It is also sinful to throw gunpowder on the fire.

IDEA OF THE FUTURE.

This tribe of Indians believe that an individual has several souls. LE SUEUR, 150 years ago, wrote that they said they had three souls, but the sacred men say that a Dakota has four souls. At death one of these remains with or near the body; one in a bundle containing some of the clothes and hair of the deceased, which the relatives preserve until they have an opportunity to throw them into the enemy's country; one goes into the spirit land; and one passes into the body of a child or some animal.

They have a fear of the future, but no fixed belief in relation to the nature of the future punishment. The Dakotas are generally taciturn on such topics. The more simple minded believe that a happy land exists across a lake of boiling water, and that an old woman sits on the shore holding a long narrow pole, that stretches across the water to the earth. Warriors who can show marks of wounds on their flesh, can walk the pole with security; also infants, whose blue veins are a passport as good as war marks. Others slip into the boiling water.

Their theology makes no difference between the condition of the thief and liar and the correct and good man. Those who commit suicide are thought to be unhappy. They believe that a woman who commits suicide will have to drag through another world that from which she hung herself in this, and that she will often break down the corn in another land by the pole or

tree which dangles at her feet, and for this will be severely beaten by the inhabitants of the spirit land.

When any one dies, the nearest friend is very anxious to go and kill an enemy. A father lost a child while the treaty of 1851 was pending at Mendota, and he longed to go and kill an Ojibway. As soon as an individual dies the corpse is wrapped in its best clothes. Some one acquainted with the deceased then harangues the spirit on the virtues of the departed; and the friends, who sit around with their faces smeared with a black pigment, the signs of mourning. Their lamentations are very loud, and they cut their thighs and legs with their finger nails or pieces of stone to give free vent, as it would appear, to their grief. The corpse is not buried, but placed in a box upon a scaffold some eight or ten feet from the ground. Hung around the scaffold are such things as would please the spirit if it were still in the flesh, such as the scalp of an enemy or pots of food. After the corpse has been exposed for some months, and the bones only remain, they are buried in a heap, and protected from the wolves by stakes.

ST. PAUL, 1853.

WHO WERE THE FIRST MEN?

BY REV. T. S. WILLIAMSON, M. D.

Wherever civilized men dwell they inquire with interest, "who were the first inhabitants of the country, and where did they come from?" To contribute our mite toward the solution of this query in regard to Minnesota is the object of this paper.

The first Europeans who entered this Territory, subsequent to the time of COLUMBUS found the Dakotas or Sioux as they called them, occupying most of that part of it which lies east of the Mississippi as well as that part watered by this river and the Minnesota. CHARLEVOIX informs us that about the year 1660, two Frenchmen, after having wintered on the borders of Lake Superior, went further, even to the Sioux. These seem to have been the first Europeans who visited the Dakotas, and also, the first who entered what is now Minnesota Territory. It is not easy nor is it important to determine the exact point at which these two men found the Sioux. It is sufficient for us to know that it was somewhere in this Territory, and it is highly probable that it was near Spirit Lake or Knife Lake, near which HENNEPIN found them about twenty years later.

From what was written on this subject by HENNEPIN, LA HONTAN, LE SUEUR, and CHARLEVOIX, and from the maps published under the superintendence of these authors, it is sufficiently clear that in the latter part of the seventeenth century the principal residence of the Isanyati Sioux,

that is of the Mdewakantonwan, Warpetonwan, and Sissitonwan, (called by HENNEPIN *Chongasketons*, and by LA HONTAN *Songasketons*) was about the head waters of Rum River, whence they extended their hunts to the St. Croix, and Mississippi rivers and down the latter nearly or quite as far as the mouth of the Wisconsin. The Titonwan, called by HENNEPIN *Tintonha*, hunted Westward of these, between the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers, and to the west and south of the latter. The Ihanktonwan were chiefly to the north of the Isanyati and Titonwan. A part of them, however, were to the Southwest of the Titonwan, for LE SUEUR, the most reliable of all the writers concerning these matters, places the Hinhanetons in the neighborhood of the Red Pipe-Stone Quarry. The Assiniboin, called by the other Dakotas *Hoheh*, who, not long anterior to the time of which we are speaking, had separated from the Ihanktonwan, hunted to the North of the Sioux and of Lake Superior. A century later, the situation of these Indians was not very different, though they had all moved Westwardly. Within the last hundred years, most of them have proceeded much farther in the same direction.

We think it is sufficiently manifest that the Sioux occupied the better part of Minnesota when Europeans entered it, a little after the middle of the seventeenth century. It does not, however, appear that they were the first, much less the only inhabitants of the country. Their common and most reliable traditions inform us, that when their ancestors first came to the Falls of St. Anthony, the Iowas—whom they call *Ayuhba* (Drowzy)—occupied the country about the mouth of the Minnesota river, and the Shiens, called by the Dakotas *Sha-i-ena*, sometimes written by the French *Chaienne*, and by others *Shiene*, dwelt higher up on the same river. We cannot pretend to determine with certainty at what time the Sioux first came to the Falls of St.

Anthony; but may say, with confidence, it was a long time ago, probably before the discovery of America by COLUMBUS. One of the best informed men concerning their traditions that I have met with among the Dakotas, who has been dead more than ten years, when questioned on this point, told me, that they supposed it to be at least equal to the lifetime of four old men, who should live one after the other; and as an example of an old man, named his father, who, I suppose, was at the time at least eighty years old.

The Winnebagoes, Otoes, and Omahas, have been named among the nations driven by the ancestors of the Dakotas from the Minnesota valley. I have not found any evidence, satisfactory to my mind, that the Winnebagoes ever had a home in this Territory prior to their late removal into it by the United States government. As respects the Otoes and Omahas, it seems not improbable that they were reckoned as a part of the Dakota nation, when the Sioux first hunted on the banks of the Mississippi, and for some time after. The Anthontantas, mentioned as a part of the Nadouesiouz, by HENNEPIN, were probably the same people as the Otoctatas, mentioned in connection with the Ayavois, as owners of the country about Blue Earth River, in the fragment of LE SUEUR, preserved by LA HARPE, and again some further on, as having recently left their village in that neighborhood, and settled near the Mahas, on the Missouri River, and it is highly probable that the Otoctatas of LE SUEUR, are the same people now called Ottoes or Otoes. The Mawhaws, Shiens and Schiannesse, are mentioned by CARVER, as bands of the Naudowessiex of the plains. Thus it appears that the Shiens, the Iowas,* the Omahas and the Ottoes, were the

* The Iowas, in the days of CHARLEVOIX, appear to have lived not far from the Red Pipe stone quarry. This historian describing the pipe of peace in use among all of the Indians of North America, remarks: "It is ordinarily made of a species of red marble, very easily worked, and found beyond the Mississippi among the Aiouez" (Iowas). Hist. Nouvelle France, vol. 3, page 211. (E. D. N.)

earliest inhabitants of Minnesota of whom we have any written or certain traditional account. I have neither seen nor heard of any artificial mounds, ancient fortifications, or monuments of any kind in or near the Minnesota valley, which might not have been constructed by these Indians. Such mounds are probably as numerous in the lower part of the valley of the Minnesota, and the contiguous part of the Mississippi, as anywhere else between the Alleghany and Rocky Mountains; but they are very small, compared with those near the Ohio, not to speak of those farther south. Some of them are still used by the Dakotas, as burying places for their dead, and in this way are receiving a small increase almost every year.

The situation of many others indicates that they had a similar origin. But by far the most numerous class appear from their size and situation, to be what Dakota tradition says they are, the remains of houses, made of poles and bark, covered with earth, such as were a few years since, and probably still are, the habitations of the Mandans, and some other tribes living on the Missouri, and also of the inhabitants of New Caledonia, as described by HARMON. Mounds of this class are found in clusters, of from less than half a dozen to upwards of fifty, arranged irregularly as we find the bark houses of the Indians at present. Their base usually approaches to an oval form. Their length is from ten to forty feet, and a few exceed this, with a height of from one or two feet, to three or four. Very few of this class exceed four feet; though some of those used for places of sepulture are more than twice that height. Back of them we find the land level, or nearly so, dry and fertile. In front it descends towards some water, and almost always there is a lake or morass in sight, indicating that the inhabitants depended for a subsistence partly on cultivating the earth,

and partly on water fowl or roots, which they obtained from wet swampy land. Several clusters of such mounds may be seen about Oak Grove, where the Dakotas say the Iowas lived, when their ancestors first came to this country. The path from Mendota to Shakopee, or Prairieville, passes through several. One large one, a little south of what has been called BLACK DOG'S or GREY IRON'S village, where the Iowas are said to have resided after they were driven from Oak Grove. Another is not far from the Tamarack swamp below Shakopee. Many may be found on the bluffs of the Mississippi and Lake Pepin. Such mounds are very numerous in the prairie near the mouth of Cannon river.

It is somewhat remarkable that the Iowas, whose language shows that they are descended from the same stock as the Dakotas, should have been viewed and treated by the Dakotas as enemies. While the Shiens, who GALLATIN says have a language kindred to the Algonquin, were received as allies, and though speaking a different language were long, if they are not still counted as a part of the Dakota nation. Hence their name, *Sha-i-e-na* in the Ihanktonwan dialect, being equivalent to *Sha-i-api* in the Isanyati, both applied to those who speak a different language from the Dakotas, and applied especially to Shiens, because all others speaking a different language were counted as enemies. It is also worthy of remark, that notwithstanding the hostility between the Iowas and Sioux, the former who are called by the latter *Ayukba*, (they sleep, or "sleepy ones,") from which we probably got Iowa, remain much nearer their original location than the Shiens, or any of the other tribes, who dwelt in the Minnesota valley before the Dakotas.

When the Dakotas first came in contact with the Shiens, I have not been able to learn, farther than that the Shiens

formerly planted on the Minnesota, between Blue Earth and Lac-qui-Parle, whence they moved to a Western branch of Red river of the North, which still bears their name; being called by the Dakotas who hunt in that region, *Shai-e-na-wojupi*, ("the place where those of another language plant.") The various spellings of this name, all show plainly their origin from the Dakota name. From this planting place on the Chaienne, or Shienne of the North, this people removed across the Missouri, where they gave their name to another river; and having ceased to cultivate the soil, it is said they now hunt on the head waters of the Platte and of the Arkansas. From their retiring so rapidly, it is probable that the Shiens had not occupied the Minnesota valley long before the arrival of the Dakotas, and that the first inhabitants of it, if not the Iowas, were Otoes, Omahas, or some other family of the Dakota stock. The languages of the tribes just named, as well as of the Winnebagoes and Osages, are so similar to the Dakota, as to indicate a common origin. In the languages of the Mandans, Minetares and Crows or Upsarakas, so many Dakota words have been found, as to render it highly probable, that they also, in part at least, belong to the same stock.* Whatever shall establish the origin of any one of these tribes, will go far towards doing the same in regard to the others. As the Sioux were undoubtedly the principal occupants of the Territory when visited by HENNEPIN, and as we know more of them than of the others, our subsequent remarks will have special reference to the Dakotas.

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*The ancient Arkansas seemed to have belonged to the Dakota family. A letter published in KIP'S "Jesuit Missions," written by a missionary, at the mouth of Arkansas, in October, 1727, speaks of "a river which the Indians call *Ni-aka*. (*Minne-ska*) or White Water." Again: "They place the hand upon the mouth, which is a sign of admiration among them." *Ouakan-tague*, they cry out, "it is the Great Spirit." They said probably, *Wakan-de*, this is wonderful. (E. D. N.)

Various circumstances, some of which we would here mention, but for the apprehension that by so doing, this paper would be extended to an undue length, indicate that the Sioux resided long in the region where HENNEPIN found them. Many of them suppose that they originated there. They have a tradition, however, that their ancestors came thither from the Northeast, where they had resided on a lake. It has been generally supposed, that the lake referred to in this tradition, is Rainy Lake, or Lake of the Woods. It is more probable, however, that it was the northern shore of Lake Superior, or Hudson's Bay, or some of the lakes between those large expanses of water. The Ojibwas have a tradition, that their ancestors drove the Sioux from the shores of Lake Superior. This tradition is corroborated by the name of the Ojibwas in the Dakota language. *Hahatonwan*, signifies dwellers at the Falls, and corresponds in sense with *saulteur*, applied to the same people it is said, because of their former residence at the Sault or Falls of Saint Marie. They were probably residing there, and the Sioux hunting and fishing on the shores of Lake Superior, when this name was first given to them.

LOUIS HENNEPIN, THE FRANCISCAN.

FIRST EXPLORER OF THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

In the vast wilderness that intervenes between the western extremity of Lake Superior and the Upper Mississippi, there is a large and beautiful lake. Its shores are elevated and strewn with vast boulders, presenting the appearance of a deserted ball ground of the Titans. On the western side, a knife-like point extends into the lake, shaded by lofty pines. In the immediate vicinity is an island noted for the fertility of its soil, and which has been tilled by the aborigines, after their manner, for nearly two centuries. Surrounded by forests of maple, the marshes in the vicinity rank in the growth of wild rice, the clear waters the abode of an abundance of fish, its position a Gibralter to foes, it is a place, above all others, desirable as a residence to the Indian. On the isle in this remote lake, two years before the mild and educated PENN conferred with the Indians on the banks of the broad Delaware, on the site of a portion of Philadelphia, there was an European, a captive among the children of the forest, who, in the grey robes of the Franciscan, was compelled to work with the women, and submit to all the treatment that the caprice of the chief dictated.

The individual had been well educated, traveled on the continent, officiated in the capacity of ecclesiastic on the battle-field and in public institutions beyond the Atlantic, had been the companion of the renowned LA SALLE in many of his adventures. It was LOUIS HENNEPIN, a Recollect Franciscan. Though his reputation was sadly tarnished by

some acts, it cannot be denied that he was a shrewd observer, and apt in the acquisition of the languages of the several tribes he visited in the New World. While his character cannot be admired, as long as the "voice of many waters" is heard at Niagara, and the Falls of the Mississippi, his name will be recalled by the historian.

While he was a member of the first company of civilized men that visited the Mississippi above the mouth of the Wisconsin, and the first to name and describe the Falls of Saint Anthony, it was also in an edition of his book of travels, that the first engraving of the cataract at Niagara was presented to the world.

EARLY HISTORY.

The account of HENNEPIN'S early life is chiefly obtained from the introduction to the Amsterdam edition of his book of travels. He was born in Ath, an inland town of the Netherlands. From boyhood he longed to visit foreign countries, and it is not to be wondered at that he assumed the priestly office, for next to the army, it was the road, in that age, to distinction. For several years he led a wandering life. A member of the Recollect branch of the Franciscans, at one time he is on a begging expedition to some of the towns on the sea coast. In a few months he occupies the post of chaplain at an hospital, where he shrives the dying and administers extreme unction. From the quiet of the hospital, he proceeds to the camp, and is present at the battle of Seneffe, which occurred in the year 1674.

His whole mind, from the time that he became a priest, appears to have been in "things seen and temporal," rather than in those that are "unseen and eternal." While on duty at some of the ports on the Straits of Dover, he exhibited the characteristic of an ancient Athenian more than

that of a professed successor of the Apostles. He sought out the society of strangers "who spent their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing." With perfect nonchalance he confesses that notwithstanding the nauseating fumes of tobacco, he used to slip behind the doors of sailors' taverns, and spend days, without regard to the loss of meals, listening to the adventures and hair-breadth escapes of the mariners in lands beyond the sea.

VOYAGE TO AMERICA.

In the year 1676 he received a welcome order from his superior, requiring him to embark for Canada. Unaccustomed to the world, and arbitrary in his disposition, he rendered the cabin of the ship in which he sailed, anything but heavenly. As in modern days, the passengers in a vessel to the new world, were composed of heterogeneous materials. There were young women, going out in search of brothers, or husbands, ecclesiastics, and those engaged in the new, but profitable commerce in furs. One of his fellow passengers was the talented, and enterprising, though unfortunate LA SALLE, with whom he afterwards associated. If he is to be credited, his intercourse with LA SALLE was not very pleasant on ship board. The young women, tired of being cooped up in the narrow accommodations of the ship, when the evening was fair, sought the deck and engaged in the rude dances of the French peasantry of that age. HENNEPIN feeling that it was improper, began to assume the air of the priest, and forbid the sport. LA SALLE feeling that his interference was uncalled for, called him a pedant, and took the side of the girls, and during the voyage there were stormy discussions.

Good humor appears to have been restored when they left the ship, for HENNEPIN would otherwise have not been the companion of LA SALLE in his great Western journey.

Sojourning for a short period at Quebec, the adventure-loving Franciscan is permitted to go to a mission station on or near the site of the present town of Kingston, Canada West.

Here there was much to gratify his love of novelty, and he passed considerable time in rambling among the Iroquois of New York, even penetrating as far eastward as the Dutch fort Orange, now the city of Albany.

JOINS LA SALLE'S EXPEDITION.

In 1678 he returned to Quebec and was ordered to join the expedition of ROBERT LA SALLE.

On the sixth of December, Father HENNEPIN and a portion of the exploring party had entered the Niagara River. In the vicinity of the Falls the winter was passed, and while the artizans were preparing a ship above the falls, to navigate the great lakes, the Recollect wiled away the hours in studying the manners and customs of the Seneca Indians, and in admiring the sublimest handiwork of God on the globe.

On the seventh of August, 1679, the ship being completely rigged, unfurled its sails to the breezes of Lake Erie. The vessel was named the Griffin, in honor of the arms of FRONTENAC, Governor of Canada, the first ship of European construction that had ever ploughed the waters of the great inland seas of North America.

After encountering a violent and dangerous storm on one of the lakes, during which they had given up all hopes of escaping shipwreck, on the twenty-seventh of the month, they were safely moored in the harbor of "*Missilimackinack.*" From thence the party proceeded to Green Bay, where they left the ship, procured canoes, and continued along the coast of Lake Michigan. By the middle of January, 1680, LA SALLE had conducted his expedition to the

Illinois River, and on an eminence near Lake Peoria, he commenced, with much heaviness of heart, the erection of a fort, which he called Crevecœur, on account of the many disappointments he had experienced.

La Salle, in the month of February, selected Hennepin and two traders for the arduous and dangerous undertaking of exploring the unknown regions of the upper Mississippi.

Daring and ambitious of distinction as a discoverer, he was not averse to such a commission, though perhaps he may have shrunk from the undertaking at so inclement a season as the last of February is, in this portion of North America.

EMBARKS FOR THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI.

On the 29th of February, 1680, with two voyageurs, named Picard du Gay and Michael Ako, Hennepin embarked in a canoe on the voyage of discovery.

The venerable Ribourde, a member of a Burgundian family of high rank, and a fellow Franciscan, came down to the river bank to see him off, and, in bidding him farewell, told him to acquit himself like a man, and be of good courage. His words were, "Viriliter age et confortetur cor tuum." [Act manfully and be of stout heart.]

The canoe was loaded with about one hundred and fifty dollars worth of merchandize, for the purpose of trade with the Indians, and in addition La Salle presented to Hennepin ten knives, twelve awls or bodkins, a parcel of tobacco, a package of needles, and a pound or two of white or black beads.

The movements of Hennepin, during the month of March are not very clearly related. He appears to have been detained at the junction of the Illinois with the Mississippi by the floating ice, until near the middle of that month. He then commenced the ascent of the river for the first time by

civilized man, though MARQUETTE had seven years before descended from the Wisconsin.

Surrounded by hostile and unknown natives, they cautiously proceeded. On the 11th of April, 1680, thirty-three bark canoes, containing a Dakota war party against the Illinois and Miami nations, hove in sight, and commenced discharging their arrows at the canoe of the Frenchmen. Perceiving the calumet of peace, they ceased their hostile demonstrations and approached. The first night that HENNEPIN and his companions passed with the Dakota party was one of anxiety. The next morning, a chief named NARRHETOBA asked for the peace calumet, filled it with willow bark, and all smoked. It was then signified that the white men were to return with them to their villages.

HENNEPIN'S ATTEMPT TO PRAY.

In his narrative, the Franciscan remarks:—"I found it difficult to say my office before these Indians. Many seeing me move my lips, said in a fierce tone, '*Ouakanche.*' MICHAEL, all out of countenance, told me that if I continued to say my breviary, we should all three be killed, and the Picard begged me at least to pray apart, so as not to provoke them. I followed the latter's advice, but the more I concealed myself, the more I had the Indians at my heels, for when I entered the wood, they thought I was going to hide some goods under ground, so that I knew not on what side to turn to pray, for they never let me out of sight. This obliged me to beg pardon of my canoemen, assuring them I could not dispense with saying my office. By the word '*Ouakanche*,' the Indians meant that the book I was reading was a spirit, but by their gesture, they nevertheless shewed a kind of aversion, so that to accustom them to it, I chanted the Litany of the Blessed Virgin in the canoe, with my book open. They thought that the breviary was a

spirit which taught me to sing for their diversion, for these people are naturally fond of singing."

This is the first mention of a Dakota word in a European book. The savages were annoyed rather than enraged, at seeing the white man reading a book, and exclaimed, "*Wakan-de!*" this is wonderful or supernatural. The war party was composed of several bands of the Mdewakantonwan Dakotas, and there was a diversity of opinion in relation to the disposition that should be made of the white men. The relatives of those who had been killed by the Miamis, were in favor of taking their scalps, but others were anxious to retain the favor of the French, and open a trading intercourse.

Perceiving one of the canoemen shoot a wild turkey, they called the gun, *Manza Ouackange*—"iron that has understanding;" more correctly, *Maza Wakande*, "this is the supernatural metal."

ARRIVE AT LAKE PEPIN.

AQUIPAGUATIN, one of the head men, resorted to the following device to obtain merchandise. Says the Father: "this wily savage had the bones of some distinguished relative, which he preserved with great care in some skins dressed and adorned with several rows of black and red porcupine quills. From time to time he assembled his men to give it a smoke, and made us come several days to cover the bones with goods, and by a present, wipe away the tears he had shed for him, and for his own son killed by the Miamis. To appease this captious man, we threw on the bones several fathoms of tobacco, axes, knives, beads, and some black and white wampum bracelets. * *
We slept at the point of the Lake of Tears, which we so called from the tears which this chief shed all night long, or by one of his sons whom he caused to weep when he grew tired.

DAKOTA METHOD OF OBTAINING FIRE.

The next day, after four or five leagues sail, a chief came and telling them to leave their canoes, he pulled up three piles of grass for seats. Then taking a piece of cedar full of little holes, he placed a stick into one, which he revolved between the palms of his hands, until he kindled a fire, and informed the Frenchmen that they would be at Mille Lacs in six days. On the nineteenth day after their captivity, they arrived in the vicinity of St. Paul, not far, it is probable, from the marshy ground on which the Kaposia band once lived, and now called "Pig's Eye."

The journal remarks, "having arrived on the nineteenth day of our navigation five leagues below St. Anthony falls, these Indians landed us in a bay, broke our canoe to pieces, and secreted their own in the reeds."

They then followed the trail to Mille Lac, sixty leagues distant. As they approached their villages, the various bands began to show their spoils. The tobacco was highly prized and led to some contention. The chalice of the Father which glistened in the sun, they were afraid to touch supposing it was "*wakan.*" After five days walk they reached the Issati (Dakota) settlements in the valley of the Rum River. The different bands, each conducted a Frenchman to their village, the chief *Aquipaguetin* taking charge of HENNEPIN. After marching through the marshes towards the sources of Rum River, five wives of the chief, in three bark canoes, met them and took them a short league to an island where their cabins were.

HENNEPIN AT MILLE LAC.

An aged Indian kindly rubbed down the way worn Franciscan—placing him on a bear skin near the fire, he anointed his legs and the soles of his feet with wild-cat oil.

The son of the chief took great pleasure in carrying upon

his bare back the Priest's robe with dead men's bones enveloped. It was called Pere Louis Chinnien—in the Dakota language *Shinna* or *Shinnan* signifies a buffalo robe. Hennepin's description of his life on the island is in these words.

"The day after our arrival Aquipaguetin, who was the head of a large family, covered me with a robe made of ten large dressed beaver skins, trimmed with porcupine quills. This Indian showed me five or six of his wives, telling them, as I afterwards learned, that they should in future regard me as one of their children.

SWEATING CABIN.

"He set before me a bark dish full of fish, and seeing that I could not rise from the ground he had a small sweating cabin made, in which he made me enter naked with four Indians. This cabin he covered with buffalo skins, and inside he put stones red to the middle. He made me a sign to do as the others before begining to sweat, but I merely concealed my nakedness with a handkerchief. As soon as these Indians had several times breathed out quite violently he began to sing vociferously, the others putting their hands on me and rubbing me while they wept bitterly. I began to faint, but I came out and could scarcely take my habit to put on. When he made me sweat thus three times a week, I felt as strong as ever."

ASTONISHMENT AT COMPASS AND IRON POT.

The mariner's compass was a constant source of wonder and amazement. Aquipaguetin having assembled the braves would ask Hennepin to show his compass. Perceiving that the needle turned, the chief harangued his men, and told them that the Europeans were spirits, capable of doing anything.

In the Franciscan's possession was an iron pot with lion

paw feet which the Indians would not touch unless their hands were wrapped in buffalo skins.

The women looked upon it as "*wakan*" and would not enter the cabin where it was.

THE FIRST DAKOTA LEXICON.

Necessity soon forced the Father to compile a Dictionary, and children were his assistants. He writes, "As soon as I could catch the word *Taketchiabihen* (*Taku-kapi-he*) which means "what call you that," I became in a short time able to converse on the familiar objects. At first this difficulty was hard to surmount. If I had a desire to know what "to run" was, in their tongue, I was forced to increase my speed and actually run from one end of the lodge to the other, until they understood what I meant and had told me the word, which I presently set down in my Dictionary."

" The chiefs of these savages, seeing that I was desirous to learn, frequently made me write, naming all the parts of the human body, and as I would not put on paper certain indelicate words, at which they do not blush, they were heartily amused.

They often asked the Franciscan questions, to answer which it was necessary to refer to his lexicon. This appeared very strange, and as they had no word for paper, they said, " that white thing must be a spirit which tells PERE LOUIS all we say."

CONVERSATION ON MARRIAGE.

HENNEPIN remarks: " These Indians often asked me how many wives and children I had, and how old I was, that is, how many winters, for so these natives always count. Never illumined by the light of faith, they were surprised at my answer. Pointing to our two Frenchmen, whom I was then visiting, at a point three leagues from our village, I told them that a man among us could only have one wife, that

as for me I had promised the Master of Life to live as they saw me, and to come and live with them to teach them to be like the French.

But that gross people, till then lawless and faithless, turned all I said into ridicule. "How," said they, "would you have these two men with thee have wives? Ours would not live with them, for they have hair all over their face, and we have none there or elsewhere." In fact, they were never better pleased with me than when I was shaved, and from a complaisance, certainly not criminal, I shaved every week."

BAPTISM OF AN INFANT.

"As I often went to visit the cabins, I found a sick child, whose father's name was MAMENISI. MICHAEL AKO would not accompany me, the Picard DU GAY alone followed me to act as sponsor, or rather to witness the baptism.

I christened the child ANTOINETTE, in honor of ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA, as well as for the Picard's name, which was ANTHONY AUGUELLE. He was a native of Amiens, and nephew of the Procurator General of the Premoustratensians, both now at Paris. Having poured natural water on the head and uttered these words: "Creature of God, I baptise thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," I took half an altar cloth, which I had wrested from the hands of an Indian, who had stolen it from me, and put it on the body of the baptised child; for as I could not say mass for want of wine and vestments, this piece of linen could not be put to better use than to enshroud the first Christian child among these tribes. I do not know whether the softness of the linen had refreshed her, but she was the next day smiling in her mother's arms, who believed that I had cured the child, but she died soon after, to my great consolation."

ARRIVAL OF DISTANT INDIANS.

"During my stay among them, there arrived four savages, who said they were come alone five hundred leagues from the west, and had been four months upon the way. They assured us there was no such place as the Straits of Anian, and that they had traveled without resting except to sleep, and had not seen or passed over any great lake, by which phrase they always mean the sea.

They further informed us that the nation of the *Asseni-poulacs* (Assiniboines) who live northeast of Issati, was not above six or seven days journey; that none of the nations within their knowledge, who lie to the east, or northwest, had any great lake about their countries, which were very large, but only rivers which came from the north; they further assured us that there were very few forests in the countries through which they passed, insomuch that now and then they were forced to make fires of Buffaloes' dung to boil their food. All these circumstances make it appear that there is no such place as the Straits of Anian, as we usually see them set down on the maps. And whatever efforts have been made for many years past by the English and Dutch to find out a passage to the frozen sea, they have not yet been able to effect it. But by the help of my discovery, and the assistance of God, I doubt not but a passage may still be found, and that an easy one too. For example, we may be transported into the Pacific Sea by rivers which are large and capable of carrying great vessels, *and from thence it is very easy to go to China and Japan without crossing the equinoctial line, and in all probability Japan is on the same continent as America.*"

SIEUR DU LUTH.

THE EXPLORER BETWEEN MILLE LACS AND LAKE SUPERIOR.

One of the early French writers on the Northwest, remarks:—"In the last year of M. de FRONTENAC'S first administration, SIEUR DU LUTH, a man of talent and experience, opened a way to the missionaries and the gospel in many different nations, turning toward the North of that lake (Superior) where he even built a fort. He advanced as far as the Lake of the Issati (Mille Lac) called Lake Buade, from the family name of M. DE FRONTENAC." This gentleman had been a resident of the city of Lyons, and was a cousin of the one-handed Chevalier TONTY, the true friend and companion of LA SALLE.

He appears to have been in the neighborhood of Lake Superior, as early as 1679. He was the first to build a fort at Pigeon river—the stream with its chain of lakes that separates Minnesota from the British possessions,—which trading post is still maintained under the name of Fort Charlotte, though in the days of the French regime it was called *Kaministigoya.*

While on Lake Superior, he killed two Iroquois, who had assassinated two Frenchmen, and the act so exasperated the Iroquois nation in New York, that it led to the Iroquois war with the French. While trading at the head of Lake Superior, he became acquainted with the Dakotas, and sought out their central residence at Mille Lac. HENNEPIN in his map of the Dakota country, calls the St. Croix "the River of the Tomb," and gives a mark for the Falls.

In the geographical description of the country, he describes the St. Croix as "a river full of rapids, by which, striking Northwest, you can reach Lake Conde (Superior) that is as far as Namissakouat river, which empties into the lake. This first river is called Tomb River, because the Issati left there the body of one of their warriors * * * * * * * * * * Lake Buade or the Lake of the Issati (Mille Lac) is about seventy leagues West of Lake Conde. It is impossible to go from one to the other on account of the marshy ground, though on snow-shoes, it might be done. By water it is one hundred and fifty leagues, on account of the windings and portages. From Lake Conde, to go conveniently in canoes, you must pass by Tomb (St. Croix) river." This information the Franciscan must have obtained from DU LUTH, who with a party of Frenchmen, very unexpectedly made his appearance among the Dakotas, who held HENNEPIN as a captive in the month of July, 1680.

At the time the Indians were on a buffalo hunt in the valley of the Mississippi, HENNEPIN'S account of the meeting with DU LUTH is as follows:

The old man on duty, on the top of the bluffs, announced that he saw two warriors in the distance. All the bowmen hastened there with speed, and trying to outstrip the others, but they brought back only two of their own women, who came to tell them, that a party of their people were hunting at the extremity of Lake Conde (Superior) and had found five spirits (so they call the French,) who by means of a captive had expressed a wish to visit them.

On the 25th of July as we were ascending the Colbert (Mississippi) after the buffalo hunt, to the Indian villages

we met the SIEUR DU LUTH who came to the Nadouesseous with five French soldiers, and merchandize." In all probability they came to the Msssissippi by way of the St. Croix. DU LUTH engaged HENNEPIN as a guide and companion while visiting the Mdewakantonwan Dakotas.

On the 14th of August 1680 they arrived at the villages towards the sources of the Rum River. Towards the end of September the Indians were informed that it would be necessary to return to Canada to procure more merchandize. A great council having been held, they consented. OUASICOUDE,* the head chief, prepared for them a chart of the route, by way of the Mississippi and Wisconsin, to Green Bay. Wintering at Mackinaw, DU LUTH and HENNEPIN appear to have arrived at Quebec in the spring of 1681. The latter hastened to France, never to return to America, but to write a book, which has given him the reputation of an unprincipled and boasting adventurer.

DU LUTH appears to have been a man of influence in Quebec. At a conference of some of the distinguished public men in the city, in relation to the difficulties with the Iroquois, held October 10th, 1682, DU LUTH was present.

In the month of March, 1684, notwithstanding all the attempts of the French to keep the peace, a band of Seneca and Cayuga warriors, having met seven canoes manned by fourteen Frenchmen, with fifteen or sixteen thousand pounds of merchandise, who were going to trade with the "Scious," pillaged and made them prisoners, and after detaining them nine days, sent them away without arms, food or canoes. This attack caused much alarm in Canada,

* The name of the chief in Dakota was WAZI-KUTE, (Wah-zee-koo-tay,) or the "Shooter of the Pines" LONG'S expedition in 1823 met a Dakota at Red Wing who bore the same name as the chief alluded to in the travels of HENNEPIN.

and DU LUTH, who appeared to have been in command at Green Bay, was ordered by the Governor of Canada to come and state the number of allies he could bring. With great expedition he came to Niagara, the place of rendezvous, with a band of Indians, and would alone have attacked the Senecas had it not been for an express order from DE LA BARRE, the Governor, to desist.

When LOUIS THE FOURTEENTH heard of this outbreak, he felt, to use his words, "that it was a grave misfortune for the colony of New France," and then in his letter to the Governor, he adds: "It appears to me that one of the principal causes of the war arises from one DU LUTH having caused two Iroquois to be killed, who had assassinated two Frenchmen, in Lake Superior, and you sufficiently see how much this man's voyage, which cannot produce any advantage to the colony, and which was permitted only in the interest of some private persons, has contributed to distract the repose of the colony."

The English of New York, knowing the hostility of the Iroquois to the French, used the opportunity to trade with the distant Indians. In 1685, one ROSEBOOM, with some young men, had traded with the Ottawas in Michigan.

In the year 1686, an old Frenchman who had long lived among the Dutch and English in New York, came to Montreal, to visit a child at the Jesuit boarding school, and he stated that a Major MCGREGORY, of Albany, was contemplating an expedition to Mackinac.

DENONVILLE, the new Governor of Canada, ordered DU LUTH to proceed to the present Detroit River, and watch whether the English passed into Lake St. Clair. In accordance with the order, he left Green Bay. Being provided with fifty armed men, he established a post called Fort St. Joseph, some thirty miles above Detroit.

In the year 1687, on the 19th of May, the brave and dis-

tinguished TONTY, who was a cousin of DU LUTH, arrived at Detroit, from his fort on the Illinois. DURANTAYE and DU LUTH, knowing that he had arrived, came down from fort St. Joseph with thirty captive English. Here TONTY and DU LUTH joined forces and proceeded toward the Iroquois country. As they were coasting Lake Erie, they met and captured Major MCGREGORY, of Albany, then on his way with thirty Englishmen, to trade with the Indians at Mackinac.

DU LUTH, having reached Lake Ontario, we find him engaged in that conflict with the Senecas of the Genessee valley, when Father ANGLERAN, the superintendent of the Mackinac mission, was severely but not mortally wounded. After this battle, he returned, in company with TONTY, to his post on the Detroit River.

In 1689, immediately previous to the burning of Schenectady, we find him again fighting the Iroquois in the neighborhood, and there is reason to suppose that he was engaged in the midnight sack of that town. As late as the year 1696, we find him on duty at Fort Frontenac; but after the peace of RYSWICK, which occasioned a suspension of hostilities, we hear nothing more of this man, who was the first of whom we have any account, who came by way of Lake Superior to the Upper Mississippi.

LE SUEUR,

THE EXPLORER OF THE MINNESOTA RIVER.

LE SUEUR, though the least known of the adventurous Frenchmen, who explored the Upper Mississippi in the 17th century, is more worthy of remembrance by the Minnesotian. He was the first to discover the Minnesota River, ascended it for considerable distance, and may well be termed the pioneer explorer of the present Minnesota Territory, as HENNEPIN was a captive all the time of his visit in the vicinity of Rum River.

But little is known of his early history. He visited this country as soon as 1683. Previous to his travels South and West, he was commissioned in 1693, by FRONTENAC, the governor of Canada, to establish a post at Chegoimegon, (La Pointe) on Lake Superior, and to make an alliance with the Saulteurs or Chippewas, and the Scioux. After leaving Lake Superior he appears to have visited the Mississippi River by the way of the Wisconsin. In the year 1695, he caused a fort to be erected on an island in the Mississippi, 200 leagues above the Illinois, probably Grey-Cloud Island. CHARLEVOIX who was at New Orleans in 1721, remarks: "Above the lake is met Isle Pelee, so named because it is a very beautiful prairie, destitute of trees. The French of Canada have made it a centre of commerce for the western parts, and may pass the winter here, because, it is a good country for hunting." This post was built to keep up peaceful relations between the Chippewas, who, according to LA HARPE, resided on the shores of a lake 500 leagues in circumference, and 100 leagues to the east, and the Scioux who resided on the Upper Mississippi. It is worthy

of note that a post was built on the island a few miles below St. Paul, before an European vessel had entered the mouth of the Mississippi.

The same year he went back to Montreal with a Chippewa chief named CHINGOOUABE, and a Scioux called TIOSCATE, who was the first Dakota in that city. He was received very kindly by the governor and other officers. Two days after he came to Montreal, he presented FRONTENAC as many arrows as there were "Scioux" villages, and asked that these might be under his protection. LE SUEUR had intended to have returned to the Dakota country in 1696, with TIOSCATE, but the chief in the meantime died, after thirty-three days sickness. LE SUEUR then went to France, and obtained permission, in 1697 to open some mines which he claimed to have found in the Dakota country.

In June of that year, he left ROCHELLE for the New World, but was captured by a British fleet and taken to England. Being released from captivity, he returned to France, and in 1698 obtained a new commission for mining.

LE SUEUR published no account of his travels, but in the history of the establishment of the French in Louisiana, by LA HARPE, there is an extract from the account of his voyage to the Scioux or Dakota country.

The "History of Louisiana, by LA HARPE," who was a French officer, remained in manuscript in Louisiana, more than one hundred years. In 1805, a copy was taken from the original, and deposited among the archives of the American Philosophical Society, from which a few extracts were published by Professor KEATING, in his narrative of Major LONG'S Expedition. In the year 1831, the original was published at Paris, for the first time, in the French language. As it has never been translated, and is not easy of access, we transcribe all that relates

to the "Scioux," and the mining operations of LE SUEUR on the Blue Earth River. LA HARPE says: "On the 10th of February M. LE SUEUR arrived (at the mouth of the Mississippi,) with 2,000 quintals of blue and green earth from the Scioux country. Here is an extract of the account of his voyage. It has been seen above, that he arrived at the colony in month of December, 1699, with thirty workmen, but could not reach Tamarois before the following June, the journey being long from the mouth of the river to that place."

On the 12th of July, 1700, with one felucca and two canoes, and with nineteen men, he departed. On the 13th, having advanced six leagues and a quarter, he stopped at the mouth of the Missouri river, and six leagues above this he passed the Illinois on the East side. He there met three Canadian voyageurs, who came to join his band, and received by them a letter from Father MAREST, Jesuit, dated July 10th, 1700, at the Mission of the Immaculate conception of the Holy Virgin, in Illinois, of which the following is a copy:

"I have the honor to write in order to inform you, that the Saugiestas have been defeated by the Scioux and Ayavois. (Iowas.) The people have formed an alliance with the Quincapous, (Kickapoos,) some of the Mecoutins, Renards, (Foxes,) and Metesigamias, and gone to revenge themselves, not on the Scioux, for they are too much afraid of them, but perhaps on the Ayavois, or very likely upon the Paoutees, or more probably upon the Osages, for these suspect nothing, and the others are on their guard.

"As you will probably meet these allied nations, you ought to take precaution against their plans and not allow them to board your vessel, since they are traitors, and utterly faithless. I pray God to accompany you in all your designs."

Twenty-two leagues above the Illinois, he passed a small stream which he called the river of Oxen, and nine leagues beyond this he passed a small river on the West side, where he met four Canadians descending the Mississippi, on their way to the Illinois. On the 30th of July, nine leagues above the last named river, he met seventeen Scioux, in seven canoes, who were going to revenge the death of three Scioux, one of whom had been burned and the others killed, at Tamarois, a few days before his arrival in that village. As he had promised the chief of the Illinois to appease the Scioux, who should go to war against his nation, he made a present to the chief of the party to engage him to turn back. He told them the king of France did not wish them to make this river more bloody, and that he was sent to tell them, that if they obeyed the king's word, they would receive in future all things necessary for them. The chief answered that he accepted the present, that is to say, that he would do as had been told him.

From the 30th of July to the 25th of August, LE SUEUR advanced fifty-three and one-fourth leagues, to a small river which he called the river of the Mine.* At the mouth it runs from the north, but it turns to the north-east. On the right seven leagues, there is a lead mine in a prairie; one and a half leagues is only navigable in high water, that is to say, from early spring till the month of June.

From the 25th to the 27th he made ten leagues, passed two small rivers, and made himself acquainted with a mine of lead from which he took a supply. From the 27th to the 30th, he made eleven and a half leagues, and met five Canadians, one of whom had been dangerously wounded in the head. They were naked, and had no amunition, except a miserable gun, with five or six loads of powder and balls.

*This is the first Mention of the Galena mines.

They said they were descending from the Scioux to go to Tamarois, and when seventy leagues above, they perceived nine canoes in the Mississippi, in which were ninety savages, who robbed and cruelly beat them. This party were going to war against the Scioux, and were composed of four different nations, the Outagamis, (Foxes,) Saquis, (Sacs,) Poutouwatamis, (Pottowattamies,) and Pauns, (Winnebagoes,) who dwell in a country eighty leagues east of the Mississippi from where LE SUEUR then was.

The Canadians determined to follow the detachment, which was composed of twenty-eight men. This day they made seven and a half leagues. On the 1st of September, he passed the Wisconsin River. It runs into the Mississippi from the northeast. It is nearly one and a half miles wide. At about seventy-five leagues up this river, on the right, ascending, there is a portage of a more than a league. The half of this portage is shaking ground, and at the end of it is a small river which descends into a bay called Winnebago Bay. It is inhabited by a great number of nations, who carry their furs to Canada. Monsieur LE SUEUR came by the Wisconsin River to the Mississippi, for the first time, in 1683, on his way to the Scioux country, where he had already passed seven years at different periods. The Mississippi, opposite the mouth of the Wisconsin, is less than a half mile wide. From the 1st of September to the 5th, our voyageur advanced fourteen leagues. He passed the "*Aux Canots*," which comes from the northeast, and then the Quincapous, named from a nation which once dwelt upon its banks.

From the 5th to the 9th, he made ten and a half leagues, and passed the rivers Cachee and Aux Ailes. The same day he perceived canoes, filled with savages, descending the river, and the five Canadians recognized them as the party who had robbed them. They placed sentinels in the wood,

for fear of being surprised by land; and when they had approached within hearing, they cried to them that if they approached farther they would fire. They then drew up by an island, at half the distance of a gun shot. Soon, four of the principal men of the band approached in a canoe, and asked if it was forgotten that they were our brethren, and with what design we had taken arms, when we perceived them. LE SUEUR replied that he had cause to distrust them, since they had robbed five of his party. Nevertheless, for the surety of his trade, being forced to be at peace with all the tribes, he demanded no redress for the robbery, but added merely that the king, their master, and his, wished that his subjects should navigate that river without insult, and that they had better beware how they acted.

The Indian who had spoken was silent, but another said they had been attacked by the Scioux, and that if they did not have pity on them, and give a little powder, they should not be able to reach their village. The consideration of a missionary, who was to go up among the Scioux, and whom these savages might meet, induced them to give two pounds of powder.

M. LE SUEUR made the same day three leagues; passed a stream on the west, and afterwards another river on the east, which is navigable at all times, and which the Indians call Red River.

On the 10th, at daybreak, they heard an elk whistle on the other side of the river. A Canadian crossed in a small Scioux canoe, which they had found, and shortly returned with the body of the animal, which was very easily killed, *quand il est en rut*, that is from the beginning of September until the end of October. The hunters at this time make a whistle of a piece of wood, or reed, and when they hear an elk whistle, they answer it. The animal, believing it to be another elk, approaches, and is killed with ease.

From the 10th to the 14th, M. LE SUEUR made seventeen and a half leagues, passing the rivers Raisin and Paquilenettes, (perhaps the Wazi Ozu and Buffalo.) The same day he left on the east side of the Mississippi, a beautiful and large river, which descends from the very far north, and called Bon Secours, (Chippewa,) on account of the great quantity of buffalo, elk, bears and deers, which are found there. Three leagues up this river, there is a mine of lead, and seven leagues above, on the same side, they found another long river, in the vicinity of which there is a copper mine, from which he had taken a lump of sixty pounds, in a former voyage. In order to make these mines of any account, peace must be obtained between the Scioux and Outagamis (Foxes) because the latter, who dwell on the east side of the Mississippi, pass this road continually when going to war against the Scioux.

In this region, at one and a half leagues on the northwest side, commenced a lake, which is six leagues long, and more than one broad, called Lake Pepin. It is bounded on the west by a chain of mountains; on the east is seen a prairie, and on the northwest of the lake there is another prairie two leagues long and one wide. In the neighborhood is a chain of mountains quite two hundred feet high, and more than one and a half miles long. In these are found several caves, to which the bears retire in winter. Most of the caverns are more than seventy feet in extent, and three or four feet high. There are several of which the entrance is very narrow, and quite closed up with saltpetre. It would be dangerous to enter them in summer, for they are filled with rattle-snakes, the bite of which is very dangerous. LE SUEUR saw some of these snakes, which were six feet in length, but generally they are about four feet. They have teeth resembling those of the pike, and their gums are full of small vessels in which their poison is placed. The Scioux

say they take it every morning, and cast it away at night. They have at the tail a kind of scale which makes a noise, and this is called a rattle.

Le Seuer made on this day seven and a half leagues, and passed another river called Hiambouxecate' Ouataba, or the river of Flat Rocks. (This is evidently the *Inyanbosndata*, or Cannon River.)

On the 15th he crossed a small river, and saw in the neighborhood several canoes filled with Indians, descending the Mississippi. He supposed they were Scioux, because he could not distinguish whether their canoes were large or small. The arms were placed in readiness, and soon they heard the cry of the savages, which they are accustomed to raise when they rush upon their enemies. He caused them to be answered in the same manner; and after having placed all the men behind the trees, he ordered them not to fire until they were commanded. He remained on shore to see what movement the savages could make, and perceiving that they placed two on shore, on the other side, where from an eminence they could ascertain the strength of his forces, he caused the men to pass and re-pass from the shore to the wood, in order to make them believe that they were numerous. This ruse succeeded, for as soon as the two descended from the eminence, the chief of the party came, bearing the calumet, which is a signal of peace among the Indians.

They said, that never having seen the French navigate the river with boats like the felucca,* they had supposed them to be English, and for that reason they had raised the war cry, and arranged themselves on the other side of the Mississippi; but having recognized their flag, they had come without fear to inform them, that one of their number, who was crazy, had accidentally killed a Frenchman, and

*The felucca is a small vessel propelled both by oars and sails, and had never before been seen on the waters of the Upper Mississippi.

that they would go and bring his comrade, who would tell how the mischief happened.

The Frenchman they brought, was DENIS, a Canadian, and he reported that his companion was accidentally killed. His name was LAPLACE, a deserting soldier from Canada, who had taken refuge in this country.

LE SUEUR replied that ONONTIO, (the name they give to all the governors of Canada) being their father and his, they ought not to seek justification elsewhere than before him; and he advised them to go and see him as soon as possible, and beg him to wipe off the blood of this Frenchman from their faces.

The party was composed of forty-seven men of different nations, who dwell far to the east, about the forty-fourth degree of latitude. LE SUEUR, discovering who the chiefs were, said the king whom they had spoken of in Canada, had sent him to take possession of the north of the river; and that he wished the nations who dwell on it, as well as those under his protection, to live in peace.

He made this day three and three-fourth leagues; and on the 16th of September, he left a large river on the east side, named St. Croix, because a Frenchman of that name was shipwrecked at its mouth. It comes from the N. N. W. Four leagues higher, in going up, is found a small lake, at the mouth of which is a very large mass of copper. It is on the edge of the water, in a small ridge of sandy earth,n the west of this lake.

From the 16th to the 19th, he advanced thirteen and three-fourth leagues. After having made from Tamarois two hundred nine and a half leagues, he left the navigation of the Mississippi, to enter the river Saint Pierre* on the

*The Saint Pierre, like the Saint Croix, just below it, was evidently named after a Frenchman. CHARLEVOIX speaks of an officer by that name, who was at Mackinac in 1692, and prominent in the Indian affairs of that age. CARVER, in 1776, on the shores

west side. By the first of October, he had made in this river forty-four and one-fourth leagues. After he entered into Blue River, thus named on account of the mines of blue earth found at its mouth, he founded his post, situated in forty-four degrees, thirteen minutes, north latitude. He met at this place, nine Scioux* who told him that the river belonged to the Scioux of the west, the Ayavois, (Iowas,) and Otoctatas, (Ottoes,) who lived a little farther off; that it was not their custom to hunt on ground belonging to others, unless invited to do so by the owners, and that when they would come to the fort to obtain provisions, they would be in danger of being killed in ascending or descending the rivers, which were narrow, and that if they would show their pity, he must establish himself on the Mississippi, near the mouth of the Saint Pierre, where the Ayavois, the Otoctatas, and the other Scioux, could go as well as them.

Having finished their speech, they leaned over the head of LE SUEUR, according to their custom, crying out "*Ouea-chissou ouaepanimanabo*," that is to say, "Have pity upon us." LE SUEUR had foreseen that the establishment of Blue River would not please the Scioux of the east, who were, so to speak, masters of the other Scioux, and of the nations which will be hereafter mentioned, because they were the first with whom trade was commenced, and in consequence of which they had already quite a number of guns.

As he had not commenced his operations only with a view to the trade of beavers, but also to gain a knowledge of the mines, which he had previously discovered, he told them he was sorry that he had not known their intentions sooner; and that it was just, since he came expressly for them, that he

of Lake Pepin, discovered the ruins of an extensive trading post, that had been under the control of a Captain SAINT PIERRE, and there is scarcely a doubt that LE SUEUR, named the Minnesota river in honor of his fellow explorer and trader.

*SCIOUX, is the orthography of LAHONTAN, LE SUEUR, and the Jesuits of that period, in their relations.

should establish himself on their land, but that the season was too far advanced for him to return. He then made them a present of powder, balls and knives, and an armful of tobacco, to entice them to assemble as soon as possible, near the fort which he was about to construct; that when they should be all assembled he might tell them the intention of the king, their and his sovereign.

The Scioux of the west, according to the statement of the eastern Scioux, have more than a thousand lodges. They do not use canoes, nor cultivate the earth, nor gather wild rice. They remain generally in the prairies, which are between the Upper Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, and live entirely by the chase. The Scioux generally say they have three souls, and that, after death, that which has done well goes to the warm country, that which has done evil to the cold regions, and the other guards the body. Polygamy is common among them. They are very jealous, and sometimes fight in duel for their wives. They manage the bow admirably, and have been seen several times to kill ducks on the wing. They make their lodges of a number of buffalo skins interlaced and sewed, and carry them wherever they go. They are all great smokers, but their manner of smoking differs from that of other Indians. There are some Scioux who swallow all the smoke of the tobacco, and others who, after having kept it sometime in their mouth, cause it to issue from the nose. In each lodge there are usually two or three men with their families.

On the 3d of October, they received at the fort several Scioux, among whom was WAHKANTAPE, chief of the village. Soon two Canadians arrived who had been hunting, and had been robbed by the Scioux of the east, who had raised their guns against the establishment which M. LE SUEUR had made on Blue River.

On the 14th the fort was finished and named "Fort

L'Huillier," and on the 22d two Canadians were sent out to invite the Ayavois and Otoctatas to come and establish a village near the fort, because these Indians are industrious and accustomed to cultivate the earth, and they hoped to get provisions from them and to make them work in the mines.

On the 24th, six Scioux Oujalespoitons wished to go into the fort, but were told that they did not receive men who had killed Frenchmen. This is the term used when they have insulted them. The next day they came to the lodge of LE SUEUR to beg him to have pity on them. They wished, according to custom, to weep over his head, and make him a present of packs of beavers, which he refused. He told them he was surprised that people who had robbed should come to him; to which they replied that they had heard it said that two Frenchmen had been robbed, but none from their village had been present at that wicked action.

LE SUEUR answered that he knew it was the Mendeoucantons and not the Oujalespoitons; "but," continued he, "you are Scioux; it is the Scioux who have robbed me, and if I were to follow your manner of acting, I should break your heads; for is it not true, that when a stranger (it is thus that they call the Indians who are not Scioux) has insulted a Scioux, Mendeoucanton, Oujalespoitons or others—all the villages—revenge upon the first one they meet ?"

As they had nothing to answer to what he said to them, they wept and repeated, according to custom, "*Ouaechissou! ouaepanimanabo!*" LE SUEUR told them to cease crying, and added that the French had good hearts, and that they had come into the country to have pity on them. At the same time he made them a present, saying to them, "Carry back your beavers and say to all the Scioux, that they will have from me no more powder or lead, and they will no

longer smoke any long pipe until they have made satisfaction for robbing the Frenchman."

The same day the Canadians, who had been sent off on the 22d, arrived without having found the road which led to the Ayavois and Otoctotas. On the 25th, LE SUEUR went to the river with three canoes, which he filled with blue and green earth.* It is taken from the hills near which are very abundant mines of copper, some of which was worked at Paris in 1696 by L'HUILLIER, one of the chief collectors of the king. Stones were also found there which would be curious, if worked.

On the 9th of November, eight Mantanton Scioux arrived, who had been sent by their chiefs to say that the *Mendeoucantons were still at their lake on the East of the Mississippi* and they could not come for a long time; and that for a single village which has no good sense, the others ought not to bear the punishment; and that they were willing to make reparation if they knew how. LE SUEUR replied that he was glad that they had a disposition to do so.

On the 15th the two Mantanton Scioux, who had been sent expressly to say that all of the Scioux of the East and part of those of the West were joined together to come to the French, because they had heard that the Christianaux and the Assinipoils were making war on them. These two nations dwell above the fort on the East side, more than eighty leagues on the Upper Mississippi.

The Assinipoils speak Scioux, and are certainly of that nation. It is only a few years since they became enemies. The enmity thus originated: The Christianaux, having the use of arms before the Scioux, through the English at Hudson's Bay, they constantly warred upon the Assinipoils, who were their nearest neighbors. The latter being weak, sued

* The locality was a branch of the Blue Earth, about a mile above the fort, called by NICOLLET, Le Sueur river, and on a map published in 1773, the river St. Remi.

for peace, and to render it more lasting, married the Christianaux women. The other Scioux, who had not made the compact, continued to war; and seeing some Christianaux with the Assinipoils, broke their heads. The Christinanaux furnished the Assinipoils with arms and merchandise.

On the 16th, the Scioux returned to their village, and it was reported that the Ayavois and Otoctatas were gone to establish themselves towards the Missouri river, near the Maha, who dwell in that region. On the 26th, the Mantantons and Oujalespoitons arrived at the fort; and after they had encamped in the woods, WAHKANTAPE* came to beg LE SUEUR to go to his lodge. He there found sixteen men with women and children, with their faces daubed with black. In the middle of the lodge were several buffalo skins, which were sewed for a carpet. After motioning him to sit down, they wept for the fourth of an hour, and the chief gave him some wild rice to eat, (as was their custom,) putting the first three spoonsful to his mouth. After which, he said all present were relatives of TIOSCATE, whom LE SUEUR took to Canada in 1695, and who died there in 1696.

At the mention of TIOSCATE they began to weep again, and wipe their tears and heads upon the shoulders of LE SUEUR. Then WAHKANTAPE again spoke, and said that TIOSCATE begged him to forget the insult done to the Frenchmen by the Mendeoucantons, and take pity on his brethren by giving them powder and balls whereby they could defend themselves, and gain a living for their wives and children, who languish in a country, full of game, because they had not the means of killing them. "Look," added the chief, "Behold thy children, thy brethren, and thy sisters; it is to thee to see whether thou wishest them to die. They will live

*WAKANDAPI or "Esteemed sacred" was the name of one of the head men at Red Wing, in 1850.

if thou givest them powder and ball; they will die if thou refusest."

LE SUEUR granted them their request, but as the Scioux never answer on the spot, especially in matters of importance, and as he had to speak to them about his establishment, he went out of the lodge without saying a word. The chief and all those within followed him as far as the door of the fort; and when he had gone in, they went around it three times, crying with all their strength, "*Atheouanan*!" that is to say, "Father, have pity on us." (*Ate unyanpi*, means "our father.")

The next day he assembled in the fort, the principal men of both villages; and as it is not possible to subdue the Scioux or to hinder them from going to war, unless it be by inducing them to cultivate the earth, he said to them that if they wished to render themselves worthy of the protection of the king, they must abandon their errant life, and form a village near his dwelling, where they would be shielded from the insults of their enemies; and that they might be happy and not hungry, he would give them all the corn necessary to plant a large piece of ground; that the king, their and his chief, in sending him, had forbidden him to purchase beaver skins, knowing that this kind of hunting separates them and exposes them to their enemies; and that in consequence of this he had come to establish himself on Blue River and vicinity, where they had many times assured him were many kinds of beasts, for the skins of which he would give them all things necessary; that they ought to reflect that they could not do without French goods, and that the only way not to want them was, not to go to war with our allied nations.

As it is customary with the Indians to accompany their word with a present proportioned to the affair treated of, he gave them fifty pounds of powder, as many balls, six

guns, ten axes, twelve armfuls of tobacco and a hatchet pipe.

On the 1st of December, the Mantantons invited LE SUEUR to a great feast. Of four of their lodges they had made one, in which was one hundred men seated around, and every one his dish before him. After the meal, WAHKANTAPE, the chief, made them all smoke one after another in the hatchet pipe which had been given them. He then made a present to LE SUEUR of a slave and a sack of wild rice, and said to him, showing him his men: "Behold the remains of this great village, which thou hast aforetimes seen so numerous! all the others have been killed in war; and the few men whom thou seest in this lodge, accept the present thou hast made them, and are resolved to obey the great chief of all nations, of whom thou hast spoken to us. Thou oughtest not to regard us as Scioux, but as French, and instead of saying the Scioux are miserable, and have no mind, and are fit for nothing but to rob and steal from the French, thou shalt say my brethren are miserable and have no mind, and we must try to procure some for them. They rob us, but I will take care that they do not lack iron, that is to say, all kinds of goods. If thou dost this, I assure thee that in a little time, the Mantantons will become Frenchmen, and they will have none of those vices, with which thou reproachest us."

Having finished his speech, he covered his face with his garment, and the others imitated him. They wept over their companions who had died in war, and chanted an adieu to their country in a tone so gloomy that one could not keep from partaking of their sorrow.

WAHKANTAPE then made them smoke again, and distributed the presents, and said that he was going to the Mendeouacantons, to inform them of the resolution, and invite them to do the same.

On the 12th, three Mendeoucanton chiefs and a large number of Indians of the same village, arrived at the fort, and the next day gave satisfaction for robbing the Frenchmen. They brought 400 pounds of beaver skins, and promised that the summer following, after their canoes were built and they had gathered their wild rice, that they would come and establish themselves near the French. The same day they returned to their village east of the Mississippi.

* * * * * * * * *

The above catalogue of villages,* concludes the extract that LA HARPE has made from LE SUEUR'S journal.

In the narrative of Major LONG'S second expedition, there are just the same number of villages of the *Gens du Lac* or Mdewakanton Scioux mentioned, though the names are different. After leaving the Mille Lac region, the divisions evidently were different, and the villages known by new names.

CHARLEVOIX, in his large and valuable work, prepared by order of the French government, speaking of the Scioux, remarks: "Our geographies divide that nation into the Wandering Scioux and Scioux of the Prairies—into Scioux of the East and Scioux of the West. Such a division to me seems not to be well founded. All the Scioux live in the same manner, and it happens that such camp which was last year on the east bank of the Mississippi, will be next year on the west; and those that we have for a time seen on the river Saint Pierre, are perhaps now a great way off on a prairie. The name of Scioux that we give to those Indians, is entirely of our making, or rather it is but the last two syllable of the name of *Nadouessioux*, as many nations call them. It is the most numerous nation as yet known in Canada. They were peaceable, and not disposed to war,

*Omitted here, as it is to be found on page 257.

until the Hurons and Iroquois came to their country. They tried to laugh at their simplicity and trained them up to war, at their expense. The Scioux have many women, and they punish conjugal infidelity with severity. They cut off the tip of their noses, and a piece of the skin of the head, and draw it over. I have seen some who thought that those Indians had a Chinese accent. It would be very easy to discover if their language had any affinity with that of the people of China."

In LE SUEUR'S enumeration of the Scioux of the west, the present Warpetwans, or People of the Leaf, Titonwan, or People of the Lodges, Sisit'wans and Ihanktonwan are easily distinguished, and the latter, at that period, appear to have lived near the Red Pipestone Quarry. The Ouadebatons are marked on HENNEPIN'S map as residing northeast of Mille Lac, and are called also the People of the River. The Ouatemantons probably resided upon Cormorant Point, which juts into Mille Lacs. Of the Mantantons, Governor RAMSEY, in his valuable and interesting report, remarks: "Another portion, known as the Mantatonwan, meaning village or community on the Matah; but where the Matah was, and whether lake or river, is at present unknown." LE SUEUR shows that they lived on a large lake which was joined to a small one. HENNEPIN calls Mille Lac, Changasketon Lake, and far north of this he marks the residence of the Chongaskabions, or the brave band; and they no doubt are the same as the Songasquitons of LE SUEUR.

Though LE SUEUR, through misinformation, or want of observation, often errs, there appears to be no intention to deceive; and, in reading his narrative, you are impressed with its general truthfulness. He alone, of the explorers of Minnesota, can be relied upon. He had men and an outfit that enabled him to make observations with some degree of accuracy; and it is to be hoped that some town named Le

Sueur, will at no distant day spring up on the banks of the Minnesota River, and thus perpetuate his name. Not only was he the most accurate, but also the last French explorer of the country. CHARLEVOIX, who visited the valley of the Lower Mississippi in 1722, says that LE SUEUR spent a winter in his fort on the banks of the Blue Earth; and that in the following April he went up to the mine, about a mile above. In twenty-two days they obtained more than thirty thousand pounds of the substance, four thousand of which were selected and sent to France. In April, 1702, he went back to France, having left men at the post; but on the third of March, 1703, these came back to Mobile, having abandoned Fort L'Huillier, on account of ill-treatment from the Indians, and for the want of pecuniary means. The enterprising LE SUEUR did not remain on the other side of the Atlantic: and several years after his explorations on the Blue Earth, he is found busy in leading expeditions against the Natchez and other Indians of the southwest. It is said that he died on the road while passing through the colony of Louisiana.

Among the company of LE SUEUR, was PENICAUT,* a ship carpenter, of strong mind, who distinguished himself in his intercourse with the tribes of the Southwest.

We cannot conclude this portion of the article, upon the early French traders in Minnesota, without noticing DE CHARLEVILLE. He was a relative of BIENVILLE, the commander-general of Louisiana, and thus connected with LE SUEUR. At the time of the settlement of the French on the banks of the Mississippi, curiosity led him to ascend this

*[PENICAUT wrote quite a narrative of his adventures in Louisiana, which was never published, but remained in manuscript until 1869, when it turned up among some old works at a book sale in Paris, and was purchased by the Library of Congress. Portions of it have been printed by the Minnesota Historical Society. (Part 1, Vol. 3, Collections), and the entire MS. by B. F. French, in his "Histor. Coll. of Louisiana and Florida—new series." W.]

river, far beyond the point reached by HENNEPIN. He told DU PRATZ, the author of a history of Louisiana, that with two Canadians and two Indians, in a birch canoe laden with goods, he proceeded as far as the Falls of St. Anthony. This cataract is described as caused by a flat rock, which crosses the river, and makes a fall of eight or ten feet. After making a portage, he continued his journey for leagues farther, and met the Sioux, whom, it was asserted, lived on both sides of the river. The Sioux informed him that it was a great distance to the sources.

In 1710, the king granted to M. CROZAT the exclusive privilege of trading in Louisiana for sixteen years. CHARLEVILLE was then employed by CROZAT, as a trader among the Shawnees, in the present State of Tennessee. His store was situated upon a mound near the present site of Nashville, on the west side of the Cumberland River.

At a very early date, a plan was conceived for drawing away the fur trade from Hudson's Bay. An alliance was contemplated with the Assiniboines and some distant Sioux, who, instead of carrying their peltries on their backs, through snow-drifts to the English, were to be induced to descend the Mississippi in their canoes, towards the St. Pierre or Minnesota, where the climate was more temperate.

D'IBERVILLE.

AN ABSTRACT OF HIS MEMORIAL ON THE COUNTRY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.*

This memorial is in manuscript, in the archives of Government, at Paris. It was written in 1702, and is a valuable document on the nations and country of the Mississippi. At the solicitation of the Secretary, the authorities granted a copy of the document, for the use of the Historical Society, with the request that it be not published word for word.

D'IBERVILLE the author, was a man of great reputation, and the son-in-law of LE SUEUR, the discoverer of the Minnesota river. Like PERROT, he was a native of Canada. There are some families that appear destined for public life, and to one of these the subject of this sketch belonged. His father was influential, and gave to the world eleven sons, all of whom "acted well their part." One was a Captain of Marine, and was wounded in the attack of the English on Quebec, in 1690; a second bore the same rank, and was killed by the English in Carolina; a third was killed by the Iroquois; a fourth was Commandant at Rochester; a fifth met a brother's fate among the Iroquois; a sixth was Governor of Cayenne; a seventh was an officer of Marine; an eighth, a Captain of Infantry, was killed in Louisiana; a ninth died at Biloxi; a tenth was, like the subject of the article, Governor of Louisiana.

* From the "Materials for Minnesota History" published by the Society, 1856.

The writer of the memorial had distinguished himself in naval conflicts in Hudson's Bay, and by order of the government set sail from France with a fleet, in 1698, to found the colony of Louisiana. Leaving his brothers in command, he chiefly occupied his time in traversing the ocean, and bringing supplies to the colony. In 1699 he had returned to the colony a second time, bringing LE SUEUR with a company of workmen, to explore the supposed copper mines on the tributary of the Mankahto. On the 10th of February, 1702, LE SUEUR returned from the Mankahto to the Gulf of Mexico, and found D'IBERVILLE absent. On the 18th of March he again arrived from France, with supplies and after spending a few weeks, he again set sail for the old country, LE SUEUR accompanying him.

The manuscript of which we propose to give an abstract, was completed on board of the ship on the 20th day of June, and was no doubt, in part, the labor of LE SUEUR whose acquaintance with the Indian nations had been so extensive. The title of the manuscript is "Memorial of M. D'IBERVILLE upon the country of the Mississippi, the Mobile and its environs, their rivers, inhabitants and the commerce which could be carried on in less than five or six years in settling it."

NOTICE OF CHOCTAWS, ETC.

"The fort of the Mobile is about 31° 3′ North; between the Mississippi and the Mobile at 33° 45′ are the Choctaws, ten leagues West of the river, composed of 3800 or 4000 families—still N. N. E., 45 leagues are the Chicachas (Chickasaws) in latitude 35° 20′ composed of 2000 families. The Mobiliens and Chohomes are near the fort, and number 350 families."* * * * * * * * * *

Speaking of the river Wabash as the Ohio was then called, the Governor remarks :

THE RIVER OHIO.

"The river Wabash as far as I know, for more than one hundred and twenty miles is not inhabited. I wish to possess it and have it occupied by the Illinois, who will hunt buffalo, deer, and similar animals which swarm the environs. Where the Illinois now are, they are of no service, being unwilling any longer to carry on the beaver trade. Some people may say as I have heard it said, that they can hunt buffalo, in their own country, but I do not think it would be possible. If they hunt on Wabash (Ohio) it will be easy to transport the hides and tallow."

MASCOUTENS, KIKAPOUS, MIAMIS.

"The Illinois having removed we could cause it to be occupied by the Mascoutens and Kikapous. This would bring four hundred and fifty men upon the rivers which empty into the Illinois and Mississippi. They now only hunt the beaver which they sell at the Bay of the Puans (Green Bay) and in the country of the Illinois.

The Miamis *who have left the banks of the Mississippi*, and gone to Chicago on account of the beaver, and those who are at Ortithipicatony, and at the St. Joseph, could readily remove to the Illinois, *where they would join one hundred of their nation* who are *still at Ouisconsin on the Mississippi.* * * * * * * *

"The Miamis, Mauscoutens, and Kikapous, who were formerly on the Mississippi, placed upon the Illinois or lower down, will withdraw from Canada yearly a commerce of fifteen thousand livres. The Illinois ten thousand, and the Sioux thirty thousand yearly. If Canada did not desire to trade with the Fox tribe, they would return to the Mississippi, and that would take away from the Canadian trade, ten thousand yearly.

NOTICE OF THE SIOUX.

"If the Sioux remain in their own country they are useless to us, being too distant. We could have no commerce with them, except that of the beaver. M. LE SUEUR, *who goes to France to give an account of this country*, is the proper person to make these movements. He estimates the Sioux at four thousand families, who could settle upon the Missouri."

MAHAS, OTTOES, IOWAYS.

He has spoken to me of another, which he calls the Mahas, composed of more than twelve hundred families, the Ayooues (Ioways) and the Octootatas, their neighbors, are about three hundred families. They occupy the lands between the Mississippi and the Missouri, about one hundred leagues from the Illinois. These savages do not know the use of arms, and a descent might be made upon them in a river, which is beyond the Wabash on the West" * * *

ASSINIBOIN, CNISTINEAUX.

"The Assinibouel, Quenistinos, and people of the north, who are upon the rivers which fall into the Mississippi, and trade at Fort Nelson (Hudson Bay) are about four hundred men. We could prevent their going there if we wish."

VALUE OF INDIAN COMMERCE.

"In four or five years we can establish a commerce with these savages of sixty or eighty thousand buffalo skins; more than one hundred deer skins, which will produce, delivered in France, more than two million four hundred thousand livres yearly. One might obtain for a buffalo skin four or five pounds of wool, which sells for twenty sous, two pounds of horse hair at ten sous. Besides, from smaller peltries, two hundred thousand livres can be made yearly."

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE DOMESTICATION OF THE TRIBES.

"The savage tribes located in the places I have marked out, make it necessary to establish three posts on the Mississippi. One at the Arkansas, another at the Wabash, (Ohio,) and the third at the Missouri. At each post it would be proper to have an officer with a detachment of ten soldiers, with a sergeant and corporal. All Frenchmen should be allowed to settle there with their families, and trade with the Indians, and they might establish tanneries for properly dressing the buffalo and deer skins for transportation.

No Frenchman shall be allowed to follow the Indians on their hunts, as it tends to keep them hunters as is seen in Canada, and when they are in the woods they do not desire to become tillers of the soil." * * * * *

"I have said nothing in this memoir of which I have not personal knowledge or the most reliable sources. The most of what I propose is founded upon personal reflection, in relation to what might be done for the defence and advancement of the colony. * * * * It will be absolutely necessary that the king should define the limits of this country, in relation to the government of Canada. It is impossible that the commandant of the Mississippi should have a report of those who inhabit the rivers that fall into the Mississippi, and principally those of the river Illinois.

"The Canadians intimate to the savages that they ought not to listen to us, but to the Governor of Canada, who always speaks to them with large presents; that the Governor of the Mississippi is mean, and never sends them anything. This is true, and what I cannot do. It is imprudent to accustom the savages to be spoken to by presents, for with so many, it would cost the king more than

the revenue derived from the trade. When they come to us, it will be necessary to bring them in subjection, make them no presents, and compel them to do what we wish, as if they were Frenchmen.

"The Spaniards have divided the Indians into parties on this point, and we can do the same. When one nation does wrong we can cease to trade with them, and threaten to draw down the hostility of other Indians. We rectify the difficulty by having missionaries, who will bring them into obedience secretly.

"The Illinois and Mascoutens have detained the French canoes they find upon the Mississippi, saying that the Governors of Canada have given them permission. I do not know whether this is so, but if true, it follows that we have not the liberty to send any one on the Mississippi.

"M. LE SUEUR would have been taken if he had not been the strongest. Only one of the canoes he sent to the Sioux was plundered." * * * * * * *

THE FOX AND OJIBWA WAR.

It has been mentioned that those left in charge of the fort at Mankahto by LE SUEUR, returned to Montreal on account of the hostility of the Indians. About this period the Sauks and Foxes, who used to hunt as far north as the Sauk Rapids, though their principal residence was on the Fox River, in Wisconsin, formed an alliance and waged war against the Ojibwas and Illinois, who were the allies of the French. As a consequence, the Wisconsin for many years ceased to be an avenue of trade to the Mississippi.

In 1726 a proposition was made by the French commandant at the post on the Illinois, to the officer at Green Bay to exterminate the Foxes. In reply to the proposition the latter says: "We agree that that would be the best expedient, but must maintain that nothing can be more dangerous in case it should fail. It would be necessary to effect a surprise and to keep them shut up in the fort as in the last war, for if the Foxes escape to the Sioux, or the Ayouais (Ioways) they would return to destroy us in all the upper country."*

It was during the interval referred to in this chapter, that the Ojibwa incursions into Minnesota took place. Aided by French firearms and advice, the Ojibwas advanced by way of the St. Louis River. Under BI-AUS-WAH, they drove the Dakotas from their village, and from this point they commenced a warfare, which in time led to the retirement of the Dakotas from Leech, Mille Lacs, and other strongholds north of the Falls of Saint Anthony, and west of Lake Superior.

* Wisconsin His. Soc. Report, Page 22.

Very near the period that France ceded Canada to England, the last conflict of the Foxes and Ojibwas took place at the falls of the Saint Croix. The late Anglo-ojibwa, WM. W. WARREN, says:

The account which the Ojibwas give of this battle is, that a famous war chief of Lake Superior, whose name was WAUB-O-JEEG, or "White Fisher," sent his war club and wampum of war to call the scattered bands of the Ojibwa tribes, to collect a war party to march against the Sioux villages on the St. Croix and Mississippi. Warriors from Ste. Maries, Kewenaw, Wisconsin and Grand Portage joined his party, and with three hundred warriors, WAUB-O-JEEG started from Lapointe to march into the enemy's country. He had sent his war club to the village of Sandy Lake, and they had sent tobacco in return, with answer that on a certain day, sixty men from that section of the Ojibwa tribe would meet him at the confluence of Snake River with the St. Croix. On reaching this point on the day designated, and the Sandy Lake party not having arrived as agreed upon, WAUB-O-JEEG, not confident in the strength of his numbers, continued down the St. Croix. They arrived at the Falls of St. Croix early in the morning, and while preparing to take their bark canoes over the portage, or carrying place, scouts were sent in advance to reconnoitre. They soon returned with the information that they had discovered a large party of Sioux and Foxes landing at the other end of the portage.

The Ojibwas instantly prepared for battle, and the scouts of the enemy having discovered them, the two hostile parties met as if by mutual appointment, in the middle of the portage. The Foxes after seeing the comparatively small number of the Ojibwas, and over confident in their own superior numbers and prowess, requested the Sioux not to join in the fight, but to sit by and see how quickly they

could rout the Ojibwas. This request was granted. The fight between the contending warriors of the two tribes, is said to have been fiercely contested, and embellished with many daring acts of personal valor. About noon the Foxes commenced yielding ground, and at last were forced to flee in confusion. They would probably have been driven into the river and killed to a man, had not their allies the Sioux, who had been quietly smoking their pipes and calmly viewing the fight from a distance, at this juncture, yelled their war whoop, and rushed to the rescue of their discomfited friends.

The Ojibwas resisted their new enemies manfully, and it was not until their ammunition had entirely failed that they in turn showed their backs in flight. Few would have returned to their lodges to tell the sad tale of defeat, and death of brave men, had not the party of sixty warriors from Sandy Lake, who were to have joined them at the mouth of Snake River, arrived at this opportune moment, and landed at the head of the portage.

Eager for the fight and fresh on the field, this band withstood the onset of the Sioux and Foxes, till their retreating friends could rally again to the battle. The Sioux and Foxes in turn fled, and it is said that the slaughter in their ranks was great. Many were driven over the rocks into the boiling flood below and every crevice in the cliffs contained a dead or wounded enemy.

From this time the Foxes retired to the south, and forever gave up the war with their victorious enemies.

The old Ojibwa Chief, BUFFALO, of Lapointe, says that the fires of the Foxes was by this stroke nearly extinguished, and they were reduced to fifteen lodges. They placed themselves under the protection of the Osaukies, who are a family of the Algonquin stock, and offering to be their cutters of wood and carriers of water, were at last incorporated into

that tribe. The Foxes speak a distinct language and do not belong to the Algonquin Council Fires. The Ojibwas term them, *O-dug-aum-eeeg*, or "people of the opposite side."

The Foxes being at last dislodged from the Fox River, French traders began to come from Mackinaw to the Mississippi, by way of Green Bay.

In the year 1755, a French fort for the first time was established at Prairie du Chien, and drew around it a number of voyageurs and coureurs des bois, whose descendants are found in Minnesota.

Capt. JONATHAN CARVER.

CAPT. JONATHAN CARVER, AND HIS EXPLORATIONS.

FROM THE "MATERIALS FOR MINNESOTA HISTORY"—1856.

Though the treaty of 1763, made at Versailles, between France and England, ceded all the Territory comprised within the limits of Wisconsin and Minnesota, to the latter power, the English did not for a long time obtain a foothold. The country West of Lake Michigan appears to have been trodden by but few British subjects, previous to him who forms the subject of the present article, and whose name has become somewhat famous in consequence of his heirs having laid claims to the site of St. Paul, and many miles adjacent.

JONATHAN CARVER was a native of Connecticut. It has been asserted, that he was a lineal descendent of JOHN CARVER, the first Governor of Plymouth Colony, * but the only definite information that the writer can obtain concerning

*[This statement is now known to be erroneous—since it is shown that Gov. CARVER had no son, and but a single daughter. In the proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, Oct 2d, 1871. it is stated that it was at Stillwater in New York where CARVER was born—and that there is no such place as Stillwater in Connecticut. Dr. L. C. DRAPER, of Madison Wis. the accurate and learned historical scholar, commenting on this statement in Vol. 6 of the Wis. Histor. Collect. says: "We infer that he was not a native of Stillwater. N. Y., from the fact stated in FRENCH'S Historical and Statistical Gazetteer of New York, that Stillwater was not settled till about 1750, eighteen years after CARVER'S birth; and the CARVER name does not appear among the first settlers of that town. Dr. PETERS states that CARVER was born in Canterbury, Conn. and HINMAN'S Genealogy of the Puritans of Connecticut gives the names of several CARVERS among the early settlers there. BARBER, in his Historical Collections of Connecticut, states that it is believed that Captain CARVER was born in Canterbury. All things considered this inference seems the most probable." W.]

his ancestry, is that his grandfather, WM. CARVER, was a native of Wigan, Lancashire, England, and a captain in King WILLIAM'S army during the campaign in Ireland, and for meritorious services received an appointment as an officer of the Colony of Connecticut.

His father was a justice of the peace in the new world, and in 1732, at Stillwater, or Canterbury, Conn., the subject of this sketch was born. At the early age of fifteen he was called to mourn the death of his father. He then commenced the study of medicine, but his roving disposition could not bear the confines of a doctor's office, and feeling perhaps that his genius would be cramped by pestle and mortar, at the age of eighteen he purchased an ensign's commission in one of the regiments Connecticut raised during the French war. He was of medium stature, and of strong mind and quick perceptions.

In the year 1757, he was present at the massacre of Fort William Henry, and narrowly escaped with his life.

After the peace of 1763, between France and England was declared, CARVER conceived the project of exploring the North-west. Leaving Boston in the month of June, 1766, he arrived at Mackinac, then the most distant British post, in the month of August. Having obtained a credit on some French and English traders from Major RODGERS, the officer in command, he started with them Westward, on the third day of September. Pursuing the usual route to Green Bay, they arrived there on the eighteenth.

The French Fort at that time was standing, though much decayed. It was some years previous to his arrival, garrisoned for a short time by an officer and thirty English soldiers, but they having been captured by the Menominees, it was abandoned.

In company with the traders he left Green Bay on the twentieth, and ascending Fox River, arrived on the twenty-

fifth at an island at the East end of Lake Winnebago, containing about fifty acres.

Here he found a Winnebago village of fifty houses. He asserts that a woman was in authority. In the month of October, the party was at the portage of the Wisconsin, and descending that stream, they arrived on the ninth at a town of the Sauks. While here he visited some lead mines about fifteen miles distant. An abundance of lead was also seen in the village, that had been brought from the mines.

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN DESCRIBED.

On the 10th, they arrived at the first village of the Ottigaumies, (Foxes,) and about five miles before the Wisconsin joins the Mississippi, he perceived the remnants of another village, and learned that it had been deserted about thirty years before, and that the inhabitants soon after their removal built a town on the Mississippi, near the mouth of the Ouisconsin, at a place called by the French *La Prairie les Chiens*, which signified the "Dog Plains." It is a large town, and contains about three hundred families. The houses are all well built, after the Indian manner, and pleasantly situated on a dry rich soil.

"I saw here many horses of a good size and shape. This town is the great mart where all the adjacent tribes, and where those who inhabit the most remote branches of the Mississippi, annually assemble about the latter end of May, bringing with them their furs to dispose of to the traders. But it is not always that they conclude their sale here. This is determined by a general council of the chiefs, who consult whether it would be more conducive to their interest to sell their goods at this place, or carry them on to Louisiana or Michilimackinack."

At a small stream called Yellow River, opposite Prairie du Chien, the traders who had thus far accompanied CARVER took up their residence for the winter.

From this point he proceeded in a canoe with a Canadian Voyageur, and a Mohawk Indian, as companions.

SUPPOSED ANCIENT FORTIFICATIONS.

Just before reaching Lake Pepin, while his attendants were one day preparing dinner, he walked out and was struck with the peculiar appearance of the surface of the country, and thought it was the site of some vast artificial earth-work.

It is a fact worthy of remembrance that he was the first to call the attention of the civilized world to the existence of ancient monuments in the Mississippi Valley. We give his own description:

"On the first of November, I reached Lake Pepin, a few miles below which I landed; and whilst the servants were preparing my dinner, I ascended the bank to view the country. I had not proceeded far, before I came to a fine, level, open plain, on which I perceived at a little distance, a partial elevation that had the appearance of entrenchments. On a nearer inspection, I had greater reason to suppose that it had really been intended for this many centuries ago. Notwithstanding it was now covered with grass, I could plainly see that it had once been a breast-work of about four feet in height, extending the best part of a mile, and sufficiently capacious to cover five thousand men. Its form was somewhat circular, and its flanks reached to the river.

"Though much defaced by time, every angle was distinguishable, and appeared as regular and fashioned with as much military skill as if planned by VAUBAN himself. The ditch was not visible; but I thought, on examining more curiously, that I could perceive there certainly had been one. From its situation, also, I am convinced that it must have been designed for that purpose. It fronted the country, and the rear was covered by the river, nor was there any rising ground for a considerable way that commanded it; a few straggling lakes were alone to be seen near it. In many places small tracks were worn across it by the feet of the elks or deer, and from the depth of the bed of earth by which it was covered, I was able to draw certain conclusions of its great antiquity. I examined all the angles and every part with great attention, and have often blamed myself for not encamping on the spot, and drawing an exact plan of it. To show that this description is not the offspring of a heated imagination, or the chimerical tale of a mistaken

traveler, I find, on enquiry, since my return, that Mons. ST. PIERRE and several travelers have, at different times, taken notice of similar appearances, upon which they have formed the same conjectures, but without examining them so minutely as I did. How a work of this kind could exist in a country that has hitherto (according to the generally received opinion) been the seat of war to untutored Indians alone, whose whole stock of military knowledge has only, till within two centuries, amounted to drawing the bow, and whose only breast-work, even at present, is the thicket, I know not. I have given as exact an account as possible of this singular appearance, and leave to future explorers of those distant regions, to discover whether it is a production of nature or art. Perhaps the hints I have here given, might lead to a more perfect investigation of it, and give us very different ideas of the ancient state of realms, that we at present believe to have been, from the earliest period, only the habitations of savages."

LAKE PEPIN AND ITS EARLY FORTS.

Lake Pepin excited his admiration, as it has that of every traveler since his day, and here he remarks: "I observed the ruins of a French Factory, where it is said Captain ST. PIERRE resided, and carried on a very great trade with the Naudawessies, before the reduction of Canada."

The first trading houses north of the Illinois River were erected in the vicinity of Lake Pepin. As early as 1687, NICHOLAS PERROT was trading in the neighborhood of the Sioux, and CHARLEVOIX, in his History of New France, says that he built a fort near the mouth of the Lake. Upon the map of NICOLLET on the east side of the lake, near Porcupine-Quill Creek, the ruins of a French fort are marked. PIKE, in his Journal of 1805, remarks: "Just below the *Point Le Sable*, the French, under FRONTENAC, who had driven the Renards from the Wisconsin, and chased them up the Mississippi, built a stockade on this lake, as a barrier against the savages. It became a noted factory for the Sioux."

In a map published in Europe as early as 1720, there is a fort marked on the lake. These facts are confirmed by the

Dakota tradition, which asserts that the first trading post was located at the foot of the lake.

DAKOTAS AT THE ST. CROIX.

CARVER'S first acquaintance with the Dakotas commenced near the river St. Croix. It would seem that the erection of trading posts on Lake Pepin had enticed the Sioux from their old residence on Rum River and Mille Lac.

He says: "Near the river St. Croix, reside bands of the Naudowessie Indians, called the River Bands. This nation is composed at present of eleven bands. They were originnally twelve, but the Assinipoils, some years ago, revolting and separating themselves from the others, there remain only at this time eleven. Those I met here are termed the River Bands, because they chiefly dwell near the banks of this river; the other eight are generally distinguished by the title of Naudowessies of the Plains, and inhabit a country more to the westward. The name of the former are Nehogatawonahs, the Mawtawbauntowahs, and Shashweentowahs."

On the OTIS farm, above Marine Mills, in the valley of the St. Croix, there are numerous mounds, and every appearance of an Indian settlement. Dakota tradition alleges that there was once a small and powerful band that lived above Lake St. Croix. The Mantanton Dakotas, which are spoken of by LE SUEUR and CARVER, may refer to these under the designation of Mawtawbauntowahs.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CAVE AT ST. PAUL.

"About thirteen miles below the Falls of St. Anthony, at which I arrived the tenth day after I left Lake Pepin, is a remarkable cave of an amazing depth. The Indians term it *Wakon-teebe*. The entrance into it is about ten feet wide, the height of it five feet. The arch within is near fifteen feet high, and about thirty feet broad; the bottom consists of fine clear sand. About thirty feet from the entrance, begins a lake, the water of which is transparent, and extends to an unsearchable distance,

for the darkness of the cave prevents all attempts to acquire a knowledge of it. I threw a small pebble towards the interior part of it with my utmost strength; I could hear that it fell into the water, and notwithstanding it was of a small size, it caused an astonishing and terrible noise, that reverberated through all those gloomy regions. I found in this cave many Indian hieroglyphics, which appeared very ancient, for time had nearly covered them with moss, so that it was with difficulty I could trace them. They were cut in a rude manner upon the inside of the wall, which was composed of a stone so extremely soft that it might be easily penetrated with a knife; a stone everywhere to be found near the Mississippi."*

"At a little distance from this dreary cavern, is the burying place of several bands of the Naudowessie Indians. Though these people have no fixed residence, living in tents, and seldom but a few months in one spot, yet they always bring the bones of the dead to this place."

HIS JOURNEY TO, AND IMPRESSIONS OF THE FALLS OF ST. ANTHONY.

"Ten miles below the Falls of St. Anthony, the River St. Pierre, called by the natives *Wadapaw Menesotor*, fall into the Mississippi from the west. It is not mentioned by Father HENNEPIN, though a large, fair river. This omission, I consider, must have proceeded from a small island, that is situated exactly in its entrance."

When he reached the Minnesota River, the ice became so troublesome that he left his canoe in the neighborhood of what is now FINDLAY'S Ferry, and walked to St. Anthony, in company with a young Winnebago chief, who had never seen the curling waters. The chief, on reaching the eminence some distance below CHEEVER'S, began to invoke his gods, and offer oblations to the spirit in the waters.

*[The cave remained unchanged in appearance for over a century. On May 1, 1867, the one hundreth anniversary of CARVER'S purported treaty with the Naudowessies, the Minnesota Historical Society held a centennial celebration of that event. The pamphlet account of the same states that CARVER'S description of it, 100 years ago, above quoted, would have faithfully described it at the time of the centenary. Within the past two years, however, sad changes have taken place. The St. Paul & Chicago Railroad, having condemned for their use the strip of land along the river bank, including the "bluff," or cliff in which is the cave, have dug it down and nearly destroyed it. But a shallow cavity now remains to mark its site. The pool or lake is gone, and the limpid stream that flows through it now *supplies a railroad tank*. Its poetry and romance are destroyed by the necessities of our modern trade and material growth. W.]

"In the middle of the Falls stands a small island, about *forty feet* broad and somewhat longer, on which grow a few cragged hemlock and spruce trees, and about half way between this island and the eastern shore, is a rock, lying at the very edge of the Falls, in an oblique position, that appeared to be about five or six feet broad, and thirty or forty long. At a little distance below the Falls, stands a small island of about an acre and half, on which grow a great number of oak trees."

From this description, it would appear that the little island, now some distance in front of the Falls, was once in the very midst, and shows that a constant recession has been going on, and that in ages long past, they were not far from the Minnesota River. A century hence, if the wearing of the last five years is any criterion, the Falls will be above the town of St. Anthony.

No description is more glowing than CARVER'S, of the country adjacent.

"The country around them is extremely beautiful. It is not an uninterrupted plain, where the eye finds no relief, but composed of many gentle ascents, which in the summer are covered with the finest verdure, and interspersed with little groves that give a pleasing variety to the prospect. On the whole, when the Falls are included, which may be seen at the distance of four miles, a more pleasing and picturesque view I believe cannot be found throughout the universe."

He arrived at the falls on the 17th of November, 1766, and appears to have visited Elk River.

CARVER'S VOYAGE UP THE MINNESOTA.

On the twenty-fifth of November, he had returned to the place opposite the Minnesota, where he had left his canoe, and this stream as yet not being obstructed with ice, he commenced its ascent, with the colors of Great Britain flying at the stern of his canoe. There is no doubt that he entered this river, but how far he explored it cannot be ascertained. He speaks of the Rapids near Shakopee, and asserts that he went as far as two hundred miles beyond Mendota. He remarks:

"On the 7th of December, I arrived at the utmost extent of my travels

towards the West, where I met a large party of the Naudowessie Indians, among whom I resided some months."

After speaking of the upper bands of the Dakotas, and their allies, he adds that he "left the habitations of the hospitable Indians the latter end of April, 1767, but did not part from them for several days, as I was accompanied on my journey by near three hundred of them, to the mouth of the river St. Pierre. At this season, these bands annually go to the great cave before mentioned."

SPEECH MADE AT THE CAVE.

"When we arrived at the great cave, and the Indians had deposited the remains of their deceased friends in the burial place that stands adjacent to it, they held their great council, into which I was admitted. On this occasion I made the following speech, which I insert to give my readers a specimen of the language and manner in which it is necessary to address the Indians, so as to engage their attention. It was delivered on the first day of May, 1767:

"My brothers!—Chiefs of the numerous and powerful Naudowessies!—I rejoice that through my long abode with you I can now speak to you, though after an imperfect manner, in your own tongue, like one of your own children. I rejoice also, that I have had an opportunity so frequently to inform you of the glory and power of the great king that reigns over the English and other nations; who is descended from a very ancient race of sovereigns, as old as the earth and water; whose feet stands on two great islands, longer than any of you have ever seen; whose head reaches to the sun, and whose arms encircle the whole earth; the number of whose warriors are equal to the trees in the valleys, the stalks of rice in yonder marshes, or the blades of grass in your great plains; who has hundreds of canoes of his own, of such amazing bigness, that all the waters in your country would not suffice for one of them to swim in; each of which have guns, not small, like mine, which you see before you, but of such magnitude that an hundred of your stoutest young men would with difficulty be able to carry one.

"You may remember the other day, when we were encamping at Wadapaw Menesotor, the black clouds, the winds, the fire, the stupendous noise, and terrible cracks, and the trembling of the earth which then alarmed you, and gave you reason to think that your gods were angry with you; not unlike these are the warlike implements of the English, when they are fighting the battles of their great king.

Several of the chiefs of your bands have told me in times past, when I dwelt with you in your tents, that they much wished to be counted among the children and allies of the great king, my master. * * * *

Being now about to take my leave of you, and to return to my own country, a long way toward the rising sun, I again ask you to tell me whether you continue of the same mind as when I spoke to you in council last winter and as there are now several of your chiefs here who came from the great plains toward the setting of the sun, whom I have never spoken with in council before, I ask you to let me know if you are willing to acknowledge yourselves the children of my great master, the king of the English.

I charge you not to give heed to bad reports, for there are wicked birds flying about among the neighboring nations, who may whisper evil things in your ears against the English, contrary to what I have told you; you must not believe them, for I have told you the truth.

As for the chiefs that are about to go to Michilimackinac, I shall take care to make for them and their suit a straight road, smooth waters, and a clear sky, that they may go there and smoke the pipe of peace, and res secure on a beaver blanket under the shade of the great tree of peace. Farewell!"

Though the reader will doubt if such a speech was ever made by JONATHAN, in the Dakota tongue, he will readily admit its grandiloquence.

BURIAL CEREMONIES OF THE DAKOTAS.

"When the Naudowessies brought their dead for interment to the great cave, I attempted to get an insight into the remaining burial rites, but whether it was on account of the stench which arose from so many bodies, or whether they chose to keep this part of their custom secret from me, I could not discover. I found, however, that they considered my curiosity as ill-timed, and therefore I withdrew. * * * * * *

One formality among the Naudowessies in mourning for the dead, is very different from any mode I observed in the other nations through which I passed. The men, to show how great their sorrow is, pierce the flesh of their arms above the elbows with arrows, and the women cut and gash their legs with sharp broken flints, till the blood flows very plentifully. * * * * * * * *

After the breath is departed, the body is dressed in the same attire it usually wore, his face is painted, and he is seated in an erect posture on a mat or skin, placed in the middle of the hut, with his weapons by his side. His relatives seated around, each harangues in turn the deceased, and if he has been a great warrior recounts his heroic actions nearly to

the following purport, which in the Indian language is extremely poetical and pleasing:

'You still sit among us, Brother, your person retains its usual resemblance, and continues similar to ours, without any visible deficiency, except it has lost the power of action! But whither is that breath flown, which a few hours ago sent up smoke to the Great Spirit? Why are those lips silent, that lately delivered to us expressions and pleasing language? Why are those feet motionless that a short time ago were fleeter than the deer on yonder mountains? Why useless hang those arms that could climb the tallest tree, or draw the toughest bow? Alas, every part of that frame which we lately beheld with admiration and wonder, is now become as inanimate as it was three hundred years ago! We will not however bemoan thee as if thou wast forever lost to us, or that thy name would be buried in oblivion; thy soul yet lives in the great country of Spirits with those of thy nation that have gone before thee, and though we are left behind to perpetuate thy fame, we shall one day join thee.

"Actuated by the respect we bore thee whilst living, we now come to tender thee the last act of kindness in our power; that thy body might not lie neglected on the plain and become a prey to the beasts of the field or fowls of the air, we will take care to lay it with those of thy predecessors who have gone before thee; hoping at the same time that thy spirit will feed with their spirits, and be ready to receive ours when we shall also arrive at the great country of Souls."

For this speech CARVER is principally indebted to his imagination, but it is well conceived, and suggested in one of Schiller's poems, called the "Death Song of a Nadowessie Chief," which GOETHE considered one of his finest productions, and which has received two translations into English, one by Sir JOHN HERSCHELL, and the other by Sir E. L. BULWER.

It appears from other sources that CARVER'S visit to the Dakotas was of some effect in bringing about friendly intercourse between them and the commander of the English force at Mackinac.*

* The earliest mention of the Sioux, in any public British documents that we know of, is in the correspondence between Sir WM. JOHNSON, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Colony of New York, and General GAGE, in command of the forces:

CARVER'S FORESIGHT.

Though a wilderness of over one thousand miles intervened between the Falls of St. Anthony and the white settlements of the English, he was fully impressed with the idea that the territory now organized under the name of Minnesota, on account of its beauty and fertility, would attract settlers.

Speaking of the advantages of the country, he says that the future population will be "able to convey their produce to the seaports with great facility, the current of the river from its source to its entrance into the Gulf of Mexico, being extremely favorable for doing this in small craft. This might also in time be facilitated by canals or shorter cuts, and a communication opened by water with New York, by way of the Lakes."

He was also confident that a route could be discovered by way of the Minnesota River, which "would open a passage for conveying intelligence to China, and the English settlements in the East Indies."*

On the eleventh of September, less than six months after CARVER'S speech at Dayton's Bluff, and the departure of a number of Chiefs to the English Fort at Mackinac, JOHNSON writes to General GAGE:—"Though I wrote you some days ago, yet I would not mind saying something again on the score of the vast expenses incurred, and, as I understand, still incurring at Michilimackinac, chiefly on pretense of making a peace between the Sioux and Chippeweighs, with which I think we have very little to do, in good policy or otherwise."

Sir WILLIAM JOHNSON, in a letter to Lord HILLSBOROUGH, one of his Majesty's Ministers dated August 17th, 1768, again refers to the subject:

"Much greater part of those who go a trading are men of such circumstances and disposition as to venture their persons everywhere for extravagant gains, yet the consequences to the public are not to be slighted, as we may be led into a general quarrel through their means. The Indians in the part adjacent to Michilimackinac have been treated with at a very great expense for some time previous. "Major ROGERS brings a considerable charge against the former for meditating a peace between some tribes of the Sioux and some of the Chippeweighs, which, had it been attended with success, would only have been interesting to a very few French, and others, that had goods in that part of the Indian country, but the contrary has happened, and they are now more violent, and war against one another."

* CARVER, in common with other travelers, had his theory on the origin of the Dakotas. He supposed that they came from Asia. He remarks, "But this might have

HIS RETURN TO ENGLAND, AND DEATH.

CARVER having returned to England, interested WHITWORTH, a member of Parliament, in the northern route. Had not the American Revolution commenced, they proposed to have built a fort at Lake Pepin, to have proceeded up the Minnesota, until they found, as they supposed they could, a branch of the Missouri, and from thence journeying over the summit of lands, until they came to a river which they called Oregon, which they would descend to the Pacific.

In England, CARVER appears to have had difficulty, and soon became quite reduced, and in 1779 he became a clerk in a lottery office, and married, while his first wife was living in America. After his death, the children of each wife kept up a correspondence.

He was a ready writer, and prepared, besides his travels, a Gazetteer, and a Treatise on the Tobacco Plant, and seems to have met with some attention from the literary circles.

He died in great want, at the age of forty-eight, in 1780. In 1817, some of his heirs visited this country with the following:

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been at different times and from various parts; from Tartary, China, Japan, the inhabitants of these places resemble each other. * * * * *

"It is very evident that some of the names and customs of the American Indians resemble those of the Tartars, and I make no doubt but that in some future era, and this not very distant, it will be reduced to certainty that during some of the wars between the Tartars and the Chinese, a part of the inhabitants of the northern provinces were driven from their native country, and took refuge in some of the isles before mentioned, and from thence found their way into America. * * * * *

"Many words are used both by the Chinese and Indians which have a resemblance to each other, not only in their sound but in their signification. The Chinese call a slave *Shungo;* and the Naudowessie Indians, whose language, from their little intercourse with the Europeans, is least corrupted, term a dog *Shunguh* (Shoankah.) The former denominate our species of their tea Shoushong; the latter call their tobacco *Shons-as-sau* (Chanshasha.) Many other of the words used by the Indians contain the syllables *ohe*, *ohaw*, and *ohu*, after the dialect of the Chinese." The comparison of languages have become a rich source of historical knowledge, yet very many of the analogies traced are fanciful.

DEED PURPORTING TO HAVE BEEN GIVEN AT THE CAVE IN THE BLUFF BELOW ST. PAUL.

"To JONATHAN CARVER, a chief under the most mighty and potent GEORGE the Third, King of the English, and other nations, the fame of whose warriors has reached our ears, and has been now fully told us by our *good brother* JONATHAN, aforesaid, whom we rejoice to have come among us, and bring us good news from his country.

We, chiefs of the Naudowessies, who have hereunto set our seals, do by these presents, for ourselves and heirs forever, in return for the aid and other good services done by the said JONATHAN to ourselves and allies, give, grant and convey to him, the said JONATHAN, and to his heirs and assigns forever, the whole of a certain tract or territory of land, bounded as follows, viz. : from the Falls of St. Anthony, running on the east bank of the Mississippi, nearly southeast, as far as Lake Pepin, where the Chippewa joins the Mississippi, and from thence eastward, five days travel, accounting twenty English miles per day, and from thence again to the Falls of St. Anthony, on a direct straight line. We do, for ourselves, heirs, and assigns, forever give unto the said JONATHAN, his heirs and assigns, with all the trees, rocks, and rivers therein, reserving the sole liberty of hunting and fishing on land not planted or improved by the said JONATHAN, his heirs and assigns, to which we have affixed our respective seals.

HAW-NO-PAW-JA-TEN, his ⋈ mark,
(with his totem, or seal, of a turtle.)
O-TAH-TON-GOOM-LISH-KAW, his ⋈ mark,
(with his totem, or seal, of a snake.)

At the Great Cave, May 1st, 1767."

HISTORY OF THE CARVER LAND GRANT.

The following documents were called forth by the heirs of CARVER, petitioning the United States to give them a title to the land upon which St. Paul stands, and many miles more, because of the alleged grant of land,* made by the

* [If Capt. CARVER really obtained his grant on this occasion, why, it may be asked, did he maintain so complete a silence in his work on the subject—a silence that has given rise to a suspicion that the grant was merely an after thought on CARVER's part, or a forgery on the part of some one after his death? The most natural explanation we can offer is this:

That CARVER knew full well that by the King's proclamation of Oct. 7, 1763, indi-

Dakotas, to Captain JONATHAN CARVER, of the British army :

WASHINGTON, July 28, 1821.

SIR:—Agreeably to your request, I have the honor to inform you what I have understood from the Indians of the Sioux nation, as well as some facts within my own knowledge, as to what is commonly termed CARVER'S Grant. The grant purports to be made by the chiefs of the Sioux of the Plains, and one of the chiefs uses the sign of a serpent, and the other a turtle, purporting that their names are derived from those animals.

The land lies on the east side of the Mississippi. The Indians do not recognize or acknowledge the grant to be valid, and they (among others) assign the following reasons:

(1.) The Sioux of the Plains never owned a foot of land on the east side of the Mississippi. The Sioux nation is divided into two grand divisions, viz.: The Sioux of the Lake, or perhaps more literally the Sioux of the River, and the Sioux of the Plain. The former subsists by hunting and fishing, and usually move from place to place by water, in

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viduals were strictly inhibited from acquiring land grants from the Indians, whether singly or collectively; yet he nevertheless had so far won upon the friendship and gratitude of the Sioux chiefs, that a large land grant was easily obtained, and very tempting; and that he concluded to secure it, and trust to time and the merit of his discoveries and sacrifices, eventually to secure a confirmation of the grant. That he deemed it the better policy to omit all reference to the deed in his Volume of Travels, lest it should be thought that the work was gotten up for the special design of attracting attention to his grant, and aiding to secure its confirmation—that this very boldness, if practiced, might defeat the object in view. Hence he probably thought that by omitting all allusions to the grant, the work might, and probably would, be favorably received by the scientific and learned men of Great Britain and the Colonies, and would thus aid in building up a reputation in his behalf that would materially serve to strengthen his petition and appeal to the Government for the ultimate confirmation of the grant. We are strongly inclined to believe that such were the views that influenced Capt. CARVER in preserving entire silence in his work with reference to his grant, and that the result of the course he had adopted was very much as he had contemplated. * * * * * * * * * * *

That the most of the Sioux, fifty years after the grant was given to CARVER, should plead ignorance of the transaction, is very natural—one positive evidence, from a reliable witness, would be worth more than a whole regiment of negative, or don't-know testimony. It is a well known fact in Indian policy that the red men find it very convenient, after having sold lands and enjoyed the proceeds, to deny all knowledge of such sale, hoping to renew the bargain and get paid again; and thus keep up the process as long as they can make it work to their comfort and advantage. As early as 1742, COLDEN informs us, that the great Iroquois chief and orator, CA-NA SA-TEE-GO, thus sharply rebuked some of his people, who had been playing this game: "This land you claim has gone through your guts; you have been furnished with clothes, meat, and drink, by the goods paid you for it, and now you want it again, children as you are."—Dr. LYMAN C. DRAPER, in the Wis. Historical Collections, Vol. 6.]

canoes, during the summer season, and travel on the ice in the winter, when not on their hunting excursions. The latter subsist entirely by hunting, and have no canoes, nor do they know but little about the use of them. They reside in the large prairies west of the Mississippi, and follow the buffalo, upon which they entirely subsist; these are called Sioux of the Plain, and never owned land east of the Mississippi.

(2.) The Indians say they have no knowledge of any such chiefs, as those who have signed the grant to CARVER, either amongst the Sioux of the River, or Sioux of the Plain. They say that if Captain CARVER did ever obtain a deed or grant, it was signed by some foolish young men who were not chiefs, and who were not authorized to make a grant. Among the Sioux of the River there are no such names.*

(3.) They say that the Indians never received any thing for their land, and they have no intention to part with it, without a consideration. From my knowledge of the Indians, I am induced to think they would not make so considerable a grant, and have it go into full effect, without receiving a substantial consideration.

(4.) They have, and ever have had the possession of the land, and intend to keep it. I know that they are very particular in making every person who wishes to cut timber on that tract, obtain their permission to do so, and obtain payment for it. In the month of May last, some Frenchmen brought a large raft of red cedar timber out of the Chippewa River, which timber was cut on the tract before mentioned. The Indians at one of the villages on the Mississippi, where the principal chief resided, compelled the Frenchmen to land the raft, and would not permit them to pass until they had received pay for the timber; and the Frenchmen were compelled to leave their raft with the Indians until they went to Prairie du Chien, and obtained the necessary articles and made the payment required.

I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

H. LEAVENWORTH.

To JOSIAH MEIGS, Esq., Com. General Land Office.

[*Communicated to the Senate, January* 23, 1823.]

Mr. VAN DYKE, from the committee on public lands, to whom was referred the petition of SAMUEL HARRISON, agent for the heirs of Cap-

* [CARVER only once in the body of his work mentions the chiefs whose signatures or "family coat of arms," are appended to the deed. On page 380, 3d London edition, he says: "The great warrior of the Naudowessies was named OTTAHTONGOOMLISHRAW, that is, Great Father of Snakes; *ottaA* being in English, father, *tongoom*, great, and *tisheaA*, a snake. Another chief was called HANAH-PAWJATIK, which means, a swift runner over the mountains.—CARVER Centenary Pamphlet.]

tain JONATHAN CARVER, praying for the recognition and confirmation of an Indian deed, for a large tract of land near St. Anthony Falls, on the Mississippi; and also the petition of the Rev. SAMUEL PETERS, L. L. D., who claims said tract of land as assignee of the heirs of said Captain CARVER, and prays that he may be permitted to take possession of the same, reported:

The petitioners state, that Captain JONATHAN CARVER, in the year 1766, took a long tour among the Indian tribes, two hundred miles west of the Falls of Saint Anthony, in the Mississippi, and made important discoveries during his travel and residence of two years and five months, with various Indian tribes, which he caused to be printed and published in London, in 1778. That by his conciliatory measures, he gained the good will of the Indian tribes, and became the peacemaker between the two large nations who were at war; and to reward him for his wisdom and friendly interposition, the sachems of the Naudowessies, were pleased to grant, and accordingly gave to him and his heirs, a deed for a tract of land therein specially described, dated at the Great Cave, May the 1st, 1767; that the chiefs of said tribe, made him a chief of their tribe on the same day, and he then engaged to return and settle in said territory with his family and connections.

That Captain JONATHAN CARVER afterwards returned to Boston and sailed for London, where he arrived in the year 1769, and soon after laid his deed before the British government, praying for a confirmation of it, and received for an answer that it should be confirmed as soon as the history of his travels was printed and published. But in consequence of the misunderstanding which existed between Great Britain and America, the ratification of the deed was suspended. That Captain JONATHAN CARVER died in London, January 31st, 1780, leaving a numerous progeny; and by the establishment of the Independence of America, the right to ratify Indian grants devolved upon the government of the United States.

The Rev. SAMUEL PETERS, in his petition, further states, that LEFEI, the present emperor of the Sioux and Naudowessies, and RED WING, a sachem, the heirs and successors of the two grand chiefs who signed the said deed to Captain CARVER, have given satisfactory and positive proof, that they allowed their ancestors' deed to be genuine, good and valid, and that Captain CARVER's heirs and assigns, are the owners of said territory, and may occupy it free of all molestation.

The committee have examined and considered the claims thus exhibited by the petitioners, and remark that the original deed is not produced, nor any competent legal evidence offered, of its execution; nor is there any proof that the persons, who it is alleged made the deed, were the

chiefs of said tribe, nor that (if chiefs) they had authority to grant and give away the land belonging to their tribe. The paper annexed to the petition, as a copy of said deed, has no subscribing witnesses; and it would seem impossible at this remote period, to ascertain the important fact, that the persons who signed the deed comprehended and understood the meaning and effect of their act.

The want of proof as to these facts, would interpose in the way of the claimants insuperable difficulties. But, in the opinion of the committee, the claim is not such as the United States are under any obligation to allow, even if the deed were proved in legal form.

The British government, before the time when the alleged deed bears date, had deemed it prudent and necessary, for the preservation of peace with the Indian tribes under their sovereignty, protection and dominion, to prevent British subjects from purchasing lands from the Indians; and this rule of policy was made known and enforced by the proclamation of the king of Great Britain, of 7th October, 1763, which contains an express prohibition.

Captain CARVER, aware of the law, and knowing that such a contract could not vest the legal title in him, applied to the British government to ratify and confirm the Indian grant, and though it was competent for that government then to confirm the grant, and vest the title of said land in him, yet, from some cause, that government did not think proper to do it.

The territory has since become the property of the United States, and an Indian grant, not good against the British government, would appear to be not binding upon the United States government.

What benefit the British government derived from the services of Captain CARVER, by his travels and residence among the Indians, that government alone could determine, and alone could judge what remuneration those services deserved.

One fact appears from the declaration of Mr. PETERS, in his statement in writing, among the papers exhibited; namely, that the British government did give Captain CARVER the sum of one thousand, three hundred and seventy-five pounds, six shillings and eight pence sterling. To the United States, however, Captain CARVER rendered no services which could be assumed as any equitable ground for the support of the petitioner's claim.

The committee being of opinion that the United States are not bound, in law or equity, to confirm the said alleged Indian grant, recommended the adoption of the following resolution:—

"*Resolved*, That the prayer of the petitioners ought not to be granted."

The Rev. SAMUEL PETERS, here spoken of, was formerly an Episcopal minister in Connecticut. Being a tory, he went back to England after the Declaration of Independence. After many years he returned to this country, and died, at an advanced age, in New York city.

PIKE'S EXPLORATIONS IN MINNESOTA, 1805-6.

(With the history of Minnesota there is intimately associated the name of General ZEBULON M. PIKE, U. S. A. who fell in battle at York, Canada, April 27, 1813. While a lieutenant, he was ordered by his commanding officer, the once notorious Gen. WILKINSON, to visit the Indian tribes of the Upper Mississippi, and expel the British traders. The party under his command was small, and his conveniences few, yet his work was well and heroically performed. In the preface to his book he says:

"In the execution of this voyage I had no gentleman to aid me, and I literally performed the duties of astronomer, surveyor, commanding officer, clerk, spy, guide and hunter—frequently preceding the party for miles, in order to reconnoitre, and returning in the evening, hungry and fatigued, to sit down in the open air, by firelight, to copy the notes, and plot the courses of the day."

It has been the aim of the editor to make judicious extracts from his journal.)

SEPT. 1st. 1805, *Sunday.*—Embarked early; wind fair; arrived at the lead mines at 12 o'clock. We were saluted with a field piece, and received with every mark of attention, by Monsieur DUBUQUE, the proprietor. There were no horses at the house, and it was six miles to where the mines were worked; it was therefore impossible to make a report by actual inspection. I therefore proposed ten queries, on the answers to which my report was founded. Dined with Mr. D., who informed me that the Sioux and Saulteurs were as warmly engaged in opposition as ever; that not long since the former killed fifteen Saulteurs, who, on the 10th of August, in return, killed ten Sioux, at the entrance of the St. Peters; and that a war party, composed of the Sacs, Reynards and Puants, of 200 warriors, had embarked on an expedition against the Saulteurs, but that they had heard that the chief having had an unfavorable dream, persuaded the party to return, and that I would meet them on my voyage. At this place I was introduced to a chief,

called the RAVEN of the Reynards. He made a very flowery speech on the occasion, which I answered in a few words, accompanied by a small present.

I had now given up all hopes of my two men, and was about to embark, when a peroque arrived, in which they were, with a Mr. BLONDEAU and two Indians, whom that gentleman had engaged above the rapids of Stony River. The two soldiers had been six days without anything to eat except muscles, when they met Mr. JAMES AIRD, by whose humanity and attention their strength and spirits were in a measure restored, and they were enabled to reach the Reynard village, where they met with Mr. B. The Indian chief furnished them with corn and shoes, and showed his friendship by every possible attention. I immediately discharged the hire of the Indians, and gave Mr. BLONDEAU a passage to the Prairie des Chiens. Left the lead mines at 4 o'clock. —Distance 25 miles.

SEPT. 3d, *Tuesday.*—Embarked at a pretty early hour. Cloudy. Met two peroques of family Indians; they at first asked Mr. BLONDEAU, "if we were for war, or if going to war?" I now experienced the good effect of having some person on board who could speak their language, for they presented me with three pair of ducks, and a quantity of venison, sufficient for all our crew one day; in return I made them some trifling presents. Afterwards met two peroques, carrying some of the warriors spoken of on the 2nd inst. They kept at a great distance until spoken to by Mr. B., when they informed him that their party had proceeded up as high as Lake Pepin, without effecting anything. Distance 25 miles.

SEPT. 4th, *Wednesday.*—Breakfasted just below the Ouisconsing. Arrived at the Prairie des Chiens about 11 o'clock; took quarters at Captain FISHER'S and were politely received by him and Mr. FRAZER.

SEPT. 6th, *Friday.*—Had a small council with the Puants,

and a chief of the lower band of the Sioux. Visited and laid out a position for a post, on a hill called the *Petit Gris*, on the Ouisconsing, three miles above its mouth. Mr. FISHER, who accompanied me, was taken very sick, in consequence of drinking some water out of the Ouisconsing. The Puants never have any white interpreters, nor have the Fols Avoin Nation. In my council, I spoke to a Frenchman, he to a Sioux, who interpreted to some of the Puants.

SEPT. 8th, *Sunday*.—Embarked at half past 11 o'clock, in two batteaux. The wind fair and fresh. I found myself very much embarrassed and cramped in my new boats, with provision and baggage. I embarked two interpreters, one to perform the whole voyage, whose name was PIERRE ROSSEAU, and the other, named JOSEPH RENVILLE, paid by Mr. FRAZER, to accompany me as high as the Falls of St. Anthony. Mr. FRAZER is a young gentleman, clerk to Mr. BLAKELY, of Montreal; he was born in Vermont, but has latterly resided in Canada. To the attention of this gentleman I am much indebted; he procured for me everything in his power that I stood in need of; despatched his bark canoes and remained himself to go on with me. His design was, to winter with some of the Sioux bands. We sailed well, came 18 miles, and encamped on the W. bank. I must not omit here to bear testimony to the politeness of all the principal inhabitants of the village.

SEPT. 10th, *Tuesday*.—Rain still continuing, we remained at our camp. Having shot at some pigeons, the report was heard at the Sioux lodges, when LA FIEULLE* sent down six

* LA FIEULLE, or "*The Leaf*," sometimes called LEFEI, or LEFOY, is otherwise known as WABASHA, the name of the hereditary chief of the Ki-yuk-sa band of Dakotas. In all the writings of that period he is termed *The Leaf*, sometimes the *Falling Leaf*. It has been conjectured by some that this was probably considered a translation of his name, WA-BA-SHA, which should in that case strictly be WA-PA-SHA, *i. e.* WA-PA, leaf, and *Sha*, red. But Messrs. RIGGS and POND, the learned Dakota scholars, in their Lexicon assert that WABASHA's name is derived from WA-pa-ha, a standard, and Sha, red. They spell the name of the chief WA-PA-HA-SHA. It is more likely that the name orig-

of his young men to inform me "that he had waited three days with meat, &c., but that last night they had begun to drink, and that on the next day he would receive me with his people sober. I returned him for answer, "that the season was advanced, that time was pressing, and that if the rain ceased I must go on." Mr. FRAZER and the interpreter went home with the Indians. We embarked about 1 o'clock, FRAZER returning, informed me that the chief acquiesced in my reasons for pressing forward, but that he had prepared a pipe (by way of letter) to present me, to show to all the Sioux above, with a message to inform them that I was a chief of their new fathers, and that he wished me to be treated with friendship and respect. On our arrival opposite to the lodges, the men were paraded on the bank, with their guns in their hands. They saluted us (with ball) with what might be termed three rounds; which I returned with three rounds from each boat with my blunderbusses. This salute, although nothing to soldiers accustomed to fire, would not be so agreeable to many people, as the Indians had all been drinking, and as some of them even tried their dexterity, to see how near the boat they could strike. They may, indeed, be said to have struck on every side of us. When landed, I had my pistols in my belt, and sword in hand. I was met on the bank by the chief, and invited to his lodge. As soon as my guards were formed, and sentinels posted, I accompanied him. Some of my men, who were going up with me, I caused to leave their arms behind, as a mark of confi-

inated from his chieftainship of the War-pe-ku-tes, one of the principal bands of the Dakotas, meaning "Leaf Shooters"—but why so called has never been known. PIKE elsewhere speaks of the Gens les Feuilles as one of the Sioux bands. There were three WABASHAWS known to white men since the Northwest began to be settled by the latter. The first was well known during the revolutionary period. The one referred to by PIKE was a son of his. The present chief, WABASHA, who until 1863 resided at Wabasha's village below Lake Pepin, and now lives on the Niobrarah Reservation, is a son of the chief who entertained PIKE. W.]

dence. At the chief's lodge I found a clean mat and pillow for me to sit on, and the before mentioned pipe, on a pair of small crutches before me. The chief sat on my right hand, my interpreter and Mr. FRAZER on my left. * * * * * * I then eat of the dinner he had provided. It was very grateful. It was wild rye and venison, of which I sent four bowls to my men. I afterwards went to a dance, the performance of which was attended with many curious manœuvres. Men and women danced indiscriminately. They were all dressed in the gayest manner; each had in their hand a small skin of some description, and would frequently run up, point their skin and give a puff with their breath, when the person blown at, whether man or woman would fall, and appear to be almost lifeless, or in great agony; but would recover slowly, rise, and join in the dance. This they called their great medicine, or as I understood the word, dance of religion. The Indians believing that they actually puffed something into each other's bodies, which occasioned the falling, &c. It is not every person who is admitted, persons wishing to join them, must first make valuable presents to the Society, to the amount of forty or fifty dollars, give a feast, and then are admitted with great ceremony. Mr. FRAZER informed me, that he was once in the lodge with some young men, who did not belong to the club: when one of the dancers came in, they immediately threw their blankets over him, and forced him out of the lodge, he laughed, and the young Indians called him a fool, and said "he did not know what the dancers might blow into his body." I returned to my boat, sent for the chief, and presented him with two carrots of tobacco, four knives, half a pound of vermillion, and one quart of salt. Mr. FRAZER asked liberty to present them some rum; we made them up a keg between us, of eight gallons. Mr.

FRAZER informed the chief that he dared not give them any without my permission. The chief thanked me for all my presents, and said "they must come free, as he did not ask for them." I replied, "that, to those who did not ask for anything I gave freely; but to those who asked for much, I gave only a little or none." We embarked about half past 3 o'clock: came three miles, and encamped on the W. side. Mr. FRAZER we left behind, but he came up with his two peroques about dusk. It commenced raining very hard. In the night, a peroque arrived from the lodges at his camp. During our stay at their camp, there were soldiers appointed to keep the crowd from my boats, who executed their duty with vigilance and rigor, driving men, women and children back, whenever they came near my boats. At my departure, their soldiers said, "as I had shaken hands with their chief, they must shake hands with my soldiers." In which request I willingly indulged them.

SEPT. 12th, *Thursday.*—It raining very hard in the morning, we did not embark until 10 o'clock. Mr. FRAZER'S peroques then coming up. It was still raining, and was very cold. Passed the Racine river, also a prairie called Le Cross, from a game of ball played frequently on it by the Sioux Indians. This prairie is very handsome; it has a small square hill, similar to those mentioned by CARVER. It is bounded in the rear by hills similar to the Prairie des Chien. On this prairie Mr. FRAZER shewed me some holes, dug by the Sioux, when in expectation of an attack, into which they first put their women and children, and then crawl themselves. They were generally round, and about ten feet in diameter; but some were half moons, and quite a breastwork. This, I understood, was the chief work, which was the principal redoubt. Their modes of constructing them are, the moment they apprehend or discover an enemy on a prairie, they commence digging with their

knives, tomahawks, and a wooden ladle; and in an incredibly short space of time, they have a hole sufficiently deep to cover themselves and family from the balls or arrows of the enemy. They have no idea of taking those subterraneous redoubts by storm, as they would probably lose a great number of men in the attack; and, although they might be successful in the event, it would be considered as a very imprudent action. Mr. FRAZER, finding his canoes not able to keep up, staid at this prairie to organize one of them, intending then to overtake us. Came on three miles further.

SEPT. 16th, *Monday.*—Embarked late, as I wished Mr. FRAZER to overtake me, but came on very well. His canoes overtook us at dinner, at the grand encampment below Lake Pepin. We made the sandy peninsula on the east, at the entrance of Lake Pepin, by dusk; passed the Sauteaux river,* on the east, at the entrance of the lake. After supper, the wind being fair, we put off, with the intention to sail across. My interpreter (ROSSEAU) telling me, that he had passed the lake twenty times, but never once in the day; giving as a reason, that the wind frequently rose and detained them by day in the lake. But I believe the traders' true reason, generally is, their fears of the Sauteurs, as they have made several strokes of war, at the mouth of this river, never distinguishing between the Sioux and their traders. However, the wind serving, I was induced to go on; and accordingly we sailed. My boat bringing up the rear, for I had put the sail of my big boat on my batteaux, and a mast of twenty-two feet. Mr. FRAZER embarked on my boat. At first the breeze was very gentle, and we sailed with our violins and other music playing; but the sky afterwards became cloudy, and quite a gale arose. My boat ploughed the swells, sometimes almost bow under. When

*Now known as the Chippewa River.

we came to the Traverse, which is opposite Point De Sable, we thought it most advisable, the lake being very much disturbed and the gale increasing, to take harbor in a bay on the east. One of the canoes, and my boat, came in very well, and together; but having made a fire on the point to give notice to our boats in the rear, they both ran on the bar before they doubled it, and were near foundering; but by jumping into the lake we brought them into a safe harbor. Distance forty miles.

SEPT. 17th, *Tuesday.*—Although there was every appearance of a very severe storm, we embarked at half past 6 o'clock, the wind fair, but before we had all hoisted sail, those in front had struck theirs. The wind came on hard ahead. The sky became inflamed and the lightning seemed to roll down the sides of the hills, which bordered the shore of the lake. The storm in all its grandeur, majesty, and horror, burst upon us, in the Traverse, while making to Point De Sable; and it required no moderate exertion to weather the point and get to the windward side of it. There we found Mr. CAMERON,* who had sailed from the prairie on the 5th; he had three bark and one wooden canoes, with him. He had been laying here two days; his canoes unloaded and turned up for the habitation of his men; his tents pitched, and living in all the ease of an Indian trader. He appeared to be a man of tolerable information, but rather indolent in his habits; a Scotchman by

*[MURDOCK CAMERON was a Scotchman by birth. He had a trading post at a very early day on Lac-qui-parle, and accumulated considerable means in the fur traffic. He is described as "sagacious, shrewd, and daring." He died in 1811, while on a canoe trip down the river, and was buried on a bluff near Lac-qui-parle, the spot being known to this day as "CAMERON'S grave." One of CAMERON'S voyageurs, a daring and athletic French half-breed, called MILOR, was with him when he died, and buried him MILOR afterwards lived at Mendota and was employed by Hon. H. H. SIBLEY as a voyageur. He acted as guide to FEATHERSTONHAUGH, who relates in his "Canoe Voyage up the Minnay Sotor," several interesting anecdotes of CAMERON and old MILOR. The latter died about a dozen years since, at Mendota, after a long life full of adventure and daring exploits. W.]

birth, but an Englishman by prejudice. He had with him a very handsome young man, by the name of JOHN RUDSELL, and also his own son, a lad of fifteen. The storm continuing, we remained all day. I was shown a point of rocks from which a Sioux woman cast herself * and was dashed into a thousand pieces, on the rocks below. She had been informed, that her friends intended matching her to a man she despised; and having refused her the man she had chosen, she ascended the hill, singing her death song; and before they could overtake her, and obviate her purpose, she took the lover's leap! and ended her troubles with her life. A wonderful display of sentiment in a savage. Distance 3 miles.

SEPT. 18th, *Wednesday.*—Embarked after breakfast. Mr. CAMERON, with his boats came on with me. Crossed the lake, sounded it, and took an observation at the upper end. I embarked in one of his canoes, and we came up to Canoe River, where there was a small band of Sioux, under the command of RED WING, the second war chief in the nation. He made me a speech and presented a pipe, pouch, and buffalo skin. He appeared to be a man of sense, and promised to accompany me to St. Peters; he saluted me and had it returned. I made him a small present. We encamped on the end of the Island, and although not more than 11 o'clock, were obliged to stay all night. Distance 18 miles.

SEPT. 19th, *Thursday.*—Embarked early; dined at St. Croix River. Messrs. FRAZER and CAMERON, having some business to do with the savages, we left them at the encampment; but they promised to overtake me, though they were obliged to travel until 12 o'clock at night. Fired a blunderbuss for them at Tattoo. The chain of my watch became unhooked, by lending her to my guard; this was a very serious misfortune.

*[This is the promontory or cliff now known as "Maiden's Rock."

SEPT. 21st, *Saturday.*—Embarked at a reasonable hour, breakfasted at the Sioux village, on the east side.* It consists of eleven lodges, and is situated at the head of an island just below a ledge of rocks. The village was evacuated at this time, all the Indians having gone out to the lands to gather *fols avoin* [wild rice]. About two miles above, saw three bears swimming over the river, but at too great a distance for us to have killed them; they made the shore before I could come up with them. Passed a camp of Sioux, of four lodges, in which I saw only one man, whose name was BLACK SOLDIER. The garrulity of the women astonished me, for at the other camps they never opened their lips; but here they flocked round us, with all their tongues going at the same time; the cause of this freedom must have been the absence of their lords and masters. Passed the encampment of Mr. FERREBAULT,† who had

*[This is the spot now called "Fig's Eye." At the time mentioned, the Kaposia, or LITTLE CROW'S village, was on the east side of the river.—W.]

†[JEAN BAPTISTE FARIBAULT was born at Berthea, L. C., in 1773, and died at Faribault, Minn., August 20, 1860, aged 77 years. At the time of his death he was the oldest white resident of what is now Minnesota.

His father, BARTHOLOMEW F., was born in Paris and educated as a lawyer. He became eminent in his profession. He emigrated to Canada in 1754, and held office until the downfall of the French Dominion in America in 1759. JEAN BAPTISTE was the youngest of his ten children. He acquired a good education when young. At the age of 17 he entered mercantile pursuits at Quebec, and remained until 1796, when he yielded to his adventurous and active disposition and entered the Indian trade, engaging in JOHN JACOB ASTOR'S "Northwestern Fur Company," as an agent. He was sent to Mackinac first, and soon after came to the Upper Mississippi region. Before the close of the last century he had crossed the Mississippi River, and after a brief stay at a post near the mouth of Des Moines River, became a resident of what is now Minnesota. He established a trading post on an island at the mouth of the Minnesota River, and carried on a trade with the Indians for about half a century, the last forty years on his own account, a portion of the time at Prairie du Chien. He married in 1814 a half-breed daughter of Maj. HANKE, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs, by whom he had eight children. His oldest son, ALEX. FARIBAULT, founded the flourishing city of that name. Mr. F. espoused the cause of the U. S. during the war of 1812, and lost many thousand dollars thereby, as well as narrowly escaping with his life on several occasions. He labored all his life to benefit the red man, teach him agriculture and the arts of industry, and protect his interests. He had an unbounded influence over them; his advice was never disregarded. He was prominent at all treaties

broken his peroque and had encamped on the west side of the river, about three miles below St. Peters. We made our encampment on the N. E. point of the big island,‡ opposite to St. Peters. The Mississippi became so very narrow this day, that I once crossed in my batteaux with forty strokes of my oars. The water of the Mississippi, since we passed Lake Pepin, has been remarkably red; and where it is deep appears as black as ink. The waters of the St. Croix and St. Peters appear *blue and clear*, for a considerable distance below their confluence. I observe a white flag on shore to-day, and on landing discovered it to be white silk; it was suspended over a scaffold, on which were laid four dead bodies, two enclosed in boards and two in bark. They were wrapped up in blankets, which appeared to be quite new. They were the bodies, I was informed, of two Sioux women, (who had lived with two Frenchmen,) one of their children, and some other relative; two of whom died at St. Peters and two at St. Croix, but were brought here, to be deposited upon this scaffold together. This is the manner of the Sioux burial, when persons die a natural death; but when they are killed, they suffer them to lay unburied. This circumstance brought to my recollection the bones of a man I found on the hills below the St. Croix; the jaw bone I brought on board. He must have been killed on that spot. Distance twenty-four miles.

SEPT. 22d, *Sunday.*—Employed in the morning, measuring the river; about three o'clock Mr. FRAZER and his peroques arrived, and in three hours after, the PETIT CORBEAU, at the head of his band, arrived with one hundred and fifty warriors. They ascended the hill, in the point between the

and councils, and rendered the U. S. many valuable services. "In person," says a newspaper sketch of him, "he was below medium height, of prepossessing appearance, of much dignity, frankness, affability and urbanity of manner." He will be remembered by the early settlers of the Territory, all of whom knew him, with respect.—W.]

‡ [This island has since been known as Pike's Island.—W.]

Mississippi and St. Peters, and gave us a salute, *a la mode savage*, with balls; after which we settled the affairs for the council the next day. Mr. FRAZER and myself took a bark canoe, and went up to the village, in order to see Mr. CAMERON. We ascended the St. Peters to the village and found his camp. (No current in the river.) He engaged to be at the council the next day, and promised to let me have his barge. The Sioux had marched on a war excursion; but hearing (by express) of my arrival, they returned by land. We were treated very hospitably, and hallooed after to go into every lodge, to eat. Returned to our camp about 11 o'clock, and found the Sioux and my men peaceably encamped.

SEPT. 23d, *Monday*.—Prepared for the council, which we commenced about twelve o'clock. I had a bower, or shade, made of my sails, on the beach, into which only my gentlemen (the traders) and the chiefs entered. I then addressed them in a speech, which, though long and touching on many points, had for its principal object the obtaining of a grant of land at this place, (the Falls of St. Anthony), and at St. Croix, and the making peace between them and the Chippeways. I was replied to by FILS DE PENICHON, LE PETIT CORBEAU, and L'ORIGINAL LEVE. They gave me the land required, about one hundred thousand acres, (equal to $200,000 in value,) and promised me a safe passport for myself and the chiefs I might bring down; but spoke doubtfully with respect to the peace. I gave them presents to the amount of about $200, and as soon as the council was over, I allowed the traders to present them with some liquor, which, with what I gave, was equal to 60 gallons. In half an hour they were all embarked for their respective villages.

The chiefs in the council* were: LE PETIT CORBEAU, he

*[In an article in the St. Paul Daily *Democrat*, May 4, 1854, we find the following in-

signed the grant; LE FILS DE PINICHON, he also signed; LE GRAND PARTISAN, L'ORIGINAL LEVE, LA DEMI DOUZAINE, LE

teresting sketches (written by Dr. THOMAS FOSTER, now of Duluth), of the chiefs and soldiers mentioned by PIKE as taking part in his council:

"But two chiefs appear to have signed the Grant; that is to say, LE PETIT CORBEAU, who is identified as the grandfather of the present chief, LITTLE CROW. He was the Great Crow of all. His Dakota name was TCHAH-TAN-WAH KOO-WAH-MAH-NE, or "The Hawk that chases Walking." The other signing chief is called LE FILS DE PINICHON —i. e., "The Son of PINICHON." This chief is identified as the father of the deceased chief, GOOD ROAD, whom most of our citizens must well recollect as the head chief of the band or village at Oak Grove, nine miles up the Minnesota above Fort Snelling. His Indian name is given by PIKE as WYH-GENAGE, but as appended to the treaty, is spelled WAY-AGO-ENAGEE. Properly, it should be written WAH-YAH-GAH-NAH-ZHEEN, or, "He sees standing up." The reason that these two chiefs only signed the grant, is probably because their bands claimed exclusive possession, and were conceded by the others to have the immediate right to dispose of the lands embraced by the military reserve.

It is naturally suggested by such an inquiry as this, who PINICHON was, that to be a son of his should be regarded a sufficiently distinctive and remarkable cognomen. PINCHON, or as the French generally wrote it, PINICHON, was the grandfather of GOOD ROAD, and in his tribe the most noted chief of the Eastern Sioux. The name conferred upon the chief by the Indians was TAH-KOO-KEE-PAYSH-NE, or "What is he afraid of?" equivalent in sense to the affirmative English expression of "He's afraid of nothing." The French corrupted this to PINCHON, in English, Pinneshaw. It is not the least curious concerning this philological corruption, that the Indians have since adopted the word "pinneshaw," and use it in colloquial intercourse to express the superlative idea of a very brave and fearless man. It is the highest praise for them to say of a warrior, that he is a pinneshaw.

LE GRAND PARTISAN is next mentioned on the list as present at the council, though not a signer. He was probably no more than a principal soldier, certainly not a chief.

LE DEMI DOUZEN, who is put down as in attendance, was the father of the present chief LITTLE SIX, and the chief of a large village of Sioux about twenty-eight miles up the Minnesota, three or four miles this side of the modern Indian village of Shakpay. The father was called SHAH KPAY, "The Six" (or Half-dozen); the son, with whom all are acquainted, was called SHAH-KPAY-*dan*, or "Little Six." He is the third chief of his family and name, or SIX III.

LE BOCCASSE, another of those in council, should be written BRAS CASSE, or "Broken Arm." His Indian name was, I believe, Wah kan-tah-pay, and as late as 1825, he was still living, at his small village of Wahpaykootans, on a lake near the Minnesota, some five or six miles below Prairie La Fleche, now Le Sueur.

The last named on the list is LE-BOEUF-QUE MARCHE, the "Walking Buffalo," or Tah-taw-kah-mah-nee. He was a kind of sub-chief of old WABASHAW (who was not present, being also called RED WING; and it is from him that the village at the head of Lake Pepin derives its name. He was the father of WAH-KOO-TAY, the present old chieftain of the Red Wing band.

I have omitted till the last, mention of LE ORIGINAL LEVE, who, next to LITTLE CROW, appears to have been the most prominent individual present. PIKE calls him "my friend," and seems to have made him some marked presents—indeed, the Indian rela-

BOUCASSE, and LE BOEUF-QUI-MARCHE. It was somewhat difficult to get them to sign the grant, as they conceived their word of honor should be taken without any mark. But I convinced them it was not on their account, but my own, I wished for their signatures.

COPY OF THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE CHIEFS OF THE SIOUX, AND LIEUT. Z. M. PIKE.

Whereas, at a conference held between the United States of America and the Sioux Nation of Indians, Lieut. Z. M. PIKE of the Army of the United States, and the chiefs and the warriors of said tribe, have agreed

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tionship and tie of comradeship was probably adopted between them. PIKE says he "was a war chief, and that he gave him, my [his] father's tomahawk," though what he means by that, passes my comprehension. In the table of Indian chiefs, etc., in the appendix to PIKE's Journal, he is set down as belonging to the Medaywakant'wans; his Indian name is given as TAHAMIE, his French as L'ORIGINAL LEVE, and his English as the RISING MOOSE, which is stated to be literally translated.*

I believe this war chief to be identical with the aged Indian, with whom most of the old settlers are familiar, by the name of TAH-MAH-HAW, whose characteristics are one eye, and his always wearing a stove-pipe hat. He his remarkable among the Sioux—and it is his greatest pride and boast—that he is the only American in his tribe. This is explained by the fact, that in the war with Great Britain, in 1812, when the rest of the Sioux sided with the British, and when LITTLE CROW, with JOSEPH RENVILLE, led on a war party to join the British army against us, he refused to participate on that side, and joined the Americans at St. Louis, where he was employed by Gen. CLARKE, in the American service. He has now in his possession, and carefully keeps, a commission from Gen. CLARKE, dated in 1814, as a chief of the Sioux—the commission says of the Red Wing band of Indians—which was originally part of WABASHAW's band. If he is the same person as L'ORIGINAL LEVE, then PIKE and his Indian comrade fought in the same ranks, and the friendship the latter imbibed at PIKE's visit, for the Americans stood the test of time and vicissitudes. He deserves on this account to receive from the government authorities, special and marked attention. JOSEPH MOJOU, an old Canadian of Point Prescott, told me that TAMAHAW was called by the voyageurs, the "Old Priest," because he was a great talker on all occasions. In Sioux, *Tamwamda* means to talk earnestly; to vociferate; and this bears some resemblance to his Indian name as at present pronounced. My friend, Mr. E. A. C. HATCH informs me, when he traded with the Winnebagoes and with the Sioux of Wabashaw band, he knew him, and has seen his commission from General CLARKE. The Winnebagoes, who were acquainted with him, translated his name to mean the pike fish, and therefore called him NAZEEKAH—though *tah-mah-hay* and not *tah-mah-haw*, is the word for "pike" in the Dakotah tongue. The other Sioux who, like Tamahaw joined the Americans in 1812, was HAY-PEE-DAN who belonged to WAKOOTAY's band. He is now deceased."]

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*[PIKE, in his work, and Dr. FOSTER, both spell the name L'Original. This is, to be exact, not strictly correct. The French word for Elk, or Moose, is "Orignal."—W.]

to the following articles, which, when ratified and approved of by the proper authority, shall be binding on both parties:

ART. 1. That the Sioux Nation grant unto the United States, for the purpose of establishment of military posts, nine miles square, at the mouth of the St. Croix, * also from below the confluence of the Mississippi and St. Peters, up the Mississippi, to include the Falls of St. Anthony, extending nine miles on each side of the river, that the Sioux Nation grants to the United States the full sovereignty and power over said district forever.

ART. 2. That, in consideration of the above grants, the United States shall pay (filled up by the Senate with 2,000 dollars).

ART. 3. The United States promise, on their part, to permit the Sioux to pass and re-pass, hunt, or make other use of the said districts as they have formerly done, without any other exception than those specified in article first.

In testimony whereof, we, the undersigned, have hereunto set our hands and seals, at the mouth of the River St. Peters, on the 23d day of September, 1805.

Z. M. PIKE, [L, S.]
1st Lieut., and agent at the above conference.

his
LE PETIT CORBEAU, ⋈ [L. S.]
mark

his
WAY AGO ENAGEE, ⋈ [L. S.]
mark

SEPT. 25th, *Tuesday.*—In the morning I discovered my flag was missing from off my boat. Being in doubt whether it had been stolen by the Indians, or had fallen overboard and floated away, I sent for my friend, the *Original Leve*, and sufficiently evinced to him, by the vehemence of my action, by the immediate punishment of my guard, (having inflicted on one of them corporeal punishment) and by sending down the shore three miles in search of it, how much I was displeased, that such a thing should have occurred. I sent a flag and two carrots of tobacco, by a Mr. CAMERON, to the Sioux, at the head of the St. Peters; made a small draft

*My demand was one league below; their reply was "from below." I imagine (without iniquity) they may be made to agree.

of the position at this place ; sent up the boat I got from Mr. FISHER, to the village of St. Peters, and exchanged her for a barge with a Mr. DUNCAN ; my men returned with the barge about sun down. She was a fine light thing ; eight men were able to carry her. Employed all day in writing.

SEPT. 25th, *Wednesday*,—I was awakened out of my bed by LE PETIT CORBEAU, (head chief) who came up from his village, to see if we were all killed, or if any accident had happened to us ; this was in consequence of their having found my flag floating two or three miles below their village, (fifteen miles hence) from which they concluded that some affray had taken place, and that it had been thrown overboard. Although I considered this an unfortunate accident for me, I was exceedingly happy at its effect ; for it was the occasion of preventing much bloodshed among the savages. A chief called the OUTARD BLANCHE, had his lip cut off, and had come to the PETIT CORBEAU, and told him, "that his face was his looking glass, that it was spoiled, and that he was determined on revenge." The parties were charging their guns, and preparing for action, when lo ! the flag appeared ; like a messenger of peace, sent to prevent their bloody purposes. They were all astonished to see it ; the staff was broke. When the PETIT CORBEAU arose and spoke to this effect : "That a thing so sacred, had not been taken from my boat, without violence ; that it would be proper for them, to hush all private animosities, until they had revenged the cause of their eldest brother ; that he would immediately go up to St. Peters, to know what dogs had done that thing ; in order to take steps to get satisfaction of those, who had done the mischief." They all listened to this reasoning and he immediately had the flag put out to dry, and embarked for my camp. I was much concerned to hear of the blood likely to have been shed, and gave him five yards of blue stroud,

three yards of calico, one handkerchief, one carrot of tobacco, and one knife, in order to make peace among his people. He promised to send my flag by land to the Falls, and make the peace with OUTARD BLANCHE. Mr. FRAZER went up to the village, and we embarked late, and encamped at the foot of the rapids. In many places, I could scarce throw a stone over the river. Distance three miles.

SEPT. 26th, *Thursday.*—Embarked at the usual hour, and after much labor in passing through the rapids, arrived at the foot of the Falls about three or four o'clock; unloaded my boat, and had the principal part of her cargo carried over the portage. With the other boat however full loaded, they were not able to get over the last shoot, and encamped about six hundred yards below. I pitched my tent and encamped above the shoot. The rapids mentioned in this day's march, might properly be called a continuation of the falls of St. Anthony, for they are equally entitled to this appellation, with the falls of the Delaware and Susquehanna. Killed one deer. Distance nine miles.

SEPT. 27th, *Friday.*—Brought over the residue of my loading this morning. Two men arrived, from Mr. FRAZER, on St. Peters, for my dispatches. This business, closing and sealing, appeared like a last adieu to the civilized world. Sent a large packet to the general, and a letter to Mrs. PIKE, with a short note to Mr. FRAZER. Two young Indians brought my flag across by land, who arrived yesterday, just as we came in sight of the Fall. I made them a present for their punctuality and expedition, and the danger they were exposed to from the journey. Carried our boats out of the river, as far as the bottom of the hill.

SEPT. 28th, *Saturday.*—Brought my barge over, and put her in the river above the Falls. While we were engaged with her three-fourths miles from camp, seven Indians painted black appeared on the heights. We had left our guns at the

camp and were entirely defenceless. It occurred to me that they were the small party of Sioux who were obstinate, and would go to war, when the other party of the bands came in; these they proved to be; they were better armed than any I had ever seen; having guns, bows, arrows, clubs, spears, and some of them even a case of pistols. I was at that time giving my men a dram; and giving the cup of liquor to the first, he drank it off; but I was more cautious with the remainder. I sent my interpreter to camp with them, to wait my coming; wishing to purchase one of their war clubs, it being made of elk horn, and decorated with inlaid work. This and a set of bows and arrows, I wished to get as a curiosity. But the liquor I had given him, began to operate, he came back for me, but refusing to go till I brought my boat, he returned, and (I suppose being offended) borrowed a canoe and crossed the river. In the afternoon got the other boat near the top of the hill, when the props gave way, and she slid all the way down to the bottom, but fortunately without injuring any person. It raining very hard, we left her. Killed one goose and a racoon.

SEPT. 29th, *Sunday.*—I killed a remarkaby large racoon. Got our large boat over the portage, and put her in the river, at the upper landing; this night the men gave sufficient proof of their fatigue, by throwing themselves down to sleep, preferring rest to supper. This day I had but fifteen men out of twenty-two; the others were sick. This voyage could have been performed with great convenience, if we had taken our departure in June. But the proper time would be to leave the Illinois as soon as the ice would permit, when the river would be of a good height.

SEPT. 30th, *Monday.*—Loaded my boat, moved over and encamped on the Island. The large boats loading likewise, we went over and put on board. In the mean time, I took a survey of the Falls, Portage, &c. If it be possible to pass

the Falls in high water, of which I am doubtful, it must be on the east side, about thirty yards from shore; as there are three layer of rocks, one below the other. The pitch off of either, is not more than five feet; but of this I can say more on my return.*

Oct. 4th, *Friday.*—Rained in the morning, but the wind serving, we embarked, although extremely raw and cold. Opposite to the mouth of Crow River we found a bark canoe, cut to pieces with tomahawks, and the paddles broken on shore; a short distance higher up we saw five more; and continued to see the wrecks until we found eight. From the form of the canoes, my interpreter pronounced them to be Sioux; and some broken arrows to be the Sauteurs. The paddles were also marked with the Indian sign of men and women killed. From all these circumstances, we drew this inference, that the canoes had been the vessels of a party of Sioux, who had been attacked and all killed or taken by the Sauteurs. Time may develop this transaction. My interpreter was much alarmed, assuring me that it was probable that at our first rencounter with the Chippeways, they would take us for Sioux traders, and fire on us before we could come to an explanation; that they had murdered three Frenchmen, whom they found on the shore about this time last spring; but notwithstanding his information, I was on shore all the afternoon in pursuit of elk. Caught a curious little animal on the prairie, which my Frenchman termed a *prairie mole*, but it is very different from the mole of the States. Distance sixteen miles.

Oct. 5th, *Saturday.*—Hard water and ripples all day. Passed several old Sioux encampments, all fortified. Found five litters, in which sick or wounded men had been carried. At this place a hard battle was fought between the Sioux and Sauteurs in the year 1800. Distance eleven miles.

*It is never possible, as I ascertained on my return.

Oct. 10th, *Thursday.*—Came to large islands and strong water early in the morning. Passed the place at which Mr. Reinville and Mons. Perlier, wintered in 1797; passed a cluster of Islands, more than twenty in the course of four miles; these I called Beaver Islands, from the immense sign of those animals, for they have dams on every island and roads from them every two or three rod. I would here attempt a description of this wonderful animal, and its admirable system of architecture, was not the subject already exhausted, by the numerous travelers who have written on this subject. Encamped at the foot of the Grand Sauk Rapids. Distance sixteen and a half miles.

Oct. 11th, *Friday.*—Both boats passed the worst of the rapids, by eleven o'clock, but we were obliged to wade and lift them over rocks, where there was not a foot of water, when at times the next step would be in the water over our heads. In consequence of this, our boats were frequently in imminent danger of being bilged on the rocks. About five miles above the rapids, our large boat was discovered to leak so fast, as to render it necessary to unload her, which we did. Stopped the leak, and reloaded. Near a war encampment, I found a piece of buckskin and a piece of scarlet cloth, suspended by the limb of a tree; this I supposed to be a sacrifice to *Matcho Manitou*, to render their enterprise successful; but I took the liberty of invading the rights of his diabolical majesty, by treating them, as the priests of old have often done, that is, converting sacrifices to my own use. Distance eight miles.

Oct. 16th, *Wednesday.*—When we arose in the morning, found that snow had fallen during the night; the ground was covered and it continued to snow. This indeed was but poor encouragement for attacking the rapids, in which we were certain to wade to our necks. I was determined, however, if possible to make *la riviere de Corbeau*, the

highest point ever made by traders in their bark canoes. We embarked, and after four hours work became so benumbed with cold that our limbs were perfectly useless. We put to shore on the opposite side of the river, about two-thirds of the way up the rapids. Built a large fire; and then discovered that our boats were nearly half full of water; both having sprung large leaks so as to oblige me to keep three hands bailing. My sergeant (KENNERMAN) one of the stoutest men I ever knew, broke a blood-vessel and vomited nearly two quarts of blood. One of my corporals (BRADLEY) also evacuated nearly a pint of blood, when he attempted to void his urine. These unhappy circumstances, in addition to the inability of four other men whom we were obliged to leave on shore; convinced me, that if I had no regard for my own health and constitution, I should have some for those poor fellows, who were killing themselves to obey my orders. After we had breakfasted and refreshed ourselves, we went down to our boats on the rocks, where I was obliged to leave them. I then informed my men that we would return to the camp and there leave some of the party and our large boats. This information was pleasing, and the attempt to reach the camp soon accomplished. My reasons for this step have partly been already stated. The necessity of unloading and refitting my boats, the beauty and convenience of the spot for building huts, the fine pine trees for peroques, and the quantity of game, were additional inducements. We immediately unloaded our boats and secured their cargoes. In the evening I went out upon a small but beautiful creek, which empties into the Falls, for the purpose of selecting pine trees to make canoes. Saw five deer, and killed one buck weighing one hundred and thirty-seven pounds. By my leaving men at this place, and from the great quantities of game in its vicinity, I was ensured plenty of provision

for my return voyage. In the party left behind was one hunter, to be continually employed, who would keep our stock of salt provisions good. Distance two-hundred and thirty-three and and a half miles above the Falls of St. Anthony.

Oct. 30th, *Wednesday.*—My men labored as usual. Nothing extraordinary.

Oct. 31st, *Thursday.*—Enclosed my little work completely with pickets. Hauled up my two boats and turned them over on each side of the gateways; by which means a defence was made to the river, and had it not been for various political reasons, I would have laughed at the attack of eight hundred or a thousand savages, if all my party were within. For except accidents, it would only have afforded amusement, the Indians having no idea of taking a place by storm. Found myself powerfully attacked with the fantastics of the brain, called ennui, at the mention of which I had hitherto scoffed; but my books being packed up, I was like a person entranced, and could easily conceive why so many persons who have been confined to remote places, acquired the habit of drinking to excess, and many other vicious practices, which have been adopted merely to pass time.

Nov. 24th, *Sunday.*—Took Miller and Boley and went in pursuit of buffalo. Came up with some about ten o'clock. In the afternoon wounded one. Pursued them until night, and encamped on the side of a swamp. Thawing.

Nov. 25th, *Monday.*—Commenced again the pursuit of the buffalo, and continued till eleven o'clock, when I gave up the chase. Arrived at the camp about sun down, hungry and weary, having eat nothing since we left it. My rifle was too small a ball to kill buffalo; the balls should not be more than thirty to the pound; an ounce ball would be still preferable, and the animal should be hunted on horse-

back. I think that, in the prairies of this country, the bow and arrow could be used to more advantage than the gun; for you might ride immediately along side, and strike them where you pleased, leaving them to proceed after others. Thawing.

Nov. 26th, *Tuesday.*—Proceeded up the river. The ice is getting very rotten, the men fell through several times. Thawing. Distance five miles.

Nov. 27th, *Wednesday.*—Took one man and marched to the post. Found all well. My hunter, BRADLEY, had killed eleven deer since my departure. Sent all the men down to help the party up. They returned, accompanied by two Indians, who informed me they were two men of a band, who resided on Lake Superior, called the Fols Avoins, but spoke the language of the Chippewas. They informed me that Mr. DICKSON'S* and the other trading houses, were established about sixty miles below; that there were seventy lodges of the Sioux on the Mississippi. All my men arrived at the post. We brought from our camp below the balance of seventeen deer and two elks.

*[Col. ROBERT DICKSON was a native of England. He commenced trading with the Sioux as early as the year 1790. At the time of PIKE'S visit, DICKSON seems to have had a trading post near Sauk Rapids, and a partner named GRANT, who kept another post at Lower Red Cedar Lake. PIKE speaks of him as "a gentleman of general commercial knowledge, and possessing much geographical information of the western country, of open, frank manners," and mentions receiving valuable aid and information from him. In the Wis. Hist. Collections (vol. 3, page 280,) he is described as "a large man, of full face, tall and commanding." Five years after PIKE'S visit, he espoused the British cause and took a prominent part in encouraging the western tribes in hostility against the Americans. Yet he is said to have been very humane to American prisoners, rescuing many from the Indians, and restraining the latter from barbarities and cold blooded massacres. After the war, DICKSON, some accounts say, did not resume trade with the Sioux, but he did at least, live at Lake Travers as late as 1817, and was charged with alienating the Sioux from the United States, in complicity with Lord SELKIRK, who was then establishing his colony on Red River. He was soon after arrested near what is now St. Paul, and taken to St. Louis. He was probably soon released, however, and found his way back to Queenstown in Canada, were he died DICKSON had a Sioux wife and four half breed children. One of his grand-children was wife of JOSEPH LAFRAMBOISE, a well known trader at Lac-qui-parle.—W.]

Nov. 28th, *Thursday.*—The Indians departed much pleased with their reception. I dispatched corporal MEEK and one private down to DICKSON with a letter, which would at least have the effect of attaching the most powerful tribe in this quarter to my interest.

Nov. 29th, *Friday.*—A Sioux (the son of a warrior called the KILLEUR ROUGE, of the *Gens des Feuilles*) and a Fols Avoin came to the post. He said that having struck our trail below, and finding some to be shoe tracks, he conceived it to be the establishment of some traders, took it, and came to the spot. He informed me that Mr. DICKSON had told the Sioux "that they might hunt now where they pleased as I had gone ahead and would cause the Chippewas wherever I met them, to treat them with friendship; that I had barred up the mouth of the St. Peters, so that no liquor could ascend the river; but that, if they came on the Mississippi, they should have what liquor they wanted:—also, that I was on the river and had a great deal of merchandise to give them in presents." This information of Mr. DICKSON to the Indians seemed to have self-interest and envy for its motives; for, by the idea of having prevented liquor from going up the St. Peters, he gave the Indians to understand that it was a regulation of my own, and not a law of the United States; and by assuring them he would sell to them on the Mississippi, he drew all the Indians from the traders on the St. Peters, who had adhered to the restriction of not selling liquor, and should any of them be killed, the blame would all lie on me, as he had (without authority) assured them that they might hunt in security. I took care to give the young chief a full explanation of my ideas on the above. He remained all night. Killed two deer.

DEC. 2d, *Monday.*—Sparks arrived from the party below and informed me that they could not kill any game, but had started up with the little peroque; also,

that Mr. DICKSON and a Frenchman had passed my detachment about three hours before. He left them on their march to the post. SPARKS arrived about ten o'clock at night.

DEC. 3d, *Tuesday.*—Mr. DICKSON, with one engagee and a young Indian, arrived at the fort. I received him with every politeness in my power, and after a serious conversation with him on the subject of the information given me on the 29th ult, was induced to believe it, in part, incorrect. He assured me that no liquor was sold by him, nor by any houses under his direction. He gave much useful information relative to my future route, which gave me great encouragement as to the certainty of my accomplishing the object of my voyage, to the fullest extent. He seemed to be a gentleman of general commercial knowledge, and possessing much geographical information of the Western country, of open, frank, manners. He gave me many assurances of his good wishes for the prosperity of my undertaking.

DEC. 4th, *Wednesday.*—My men arrived with one canoe only. Calculated on returning them two days after.

DEC. 5th, *Thursday*—Mr. DICKSON, with his two men departed for their station, after having furnished me with a letter for a young man of his house, in Lake de Sable, and a *carte blanche* as to my commands on him. Weather mild.

DEC. 6th, *Friday.*—I despatched my men down, to bring up the other peroque with a strong sled on which it was intended to put the canoe about one third, and to let the end drag on the ice. Three families of the Fols Avoins arrived and encamped near the fort; also, one Sioux, who pretended to have been sent to me, from the *Gens des Feuilles* to inform me that the Yanctongs and Sussitongs (two bands of Sioux from the head of the St. Peters and the Missouri, and the most savage of them) had commenced the

war dance and would depart in a few days, in which case he conceived it would be advisable for the Fols Avoins to keep close under my protection; that making a stroke on the Chippewas would tend to injure the grand object of my voyage, &c., &c. Some reasons induced me to believe he was a self-created envoy; however, I offered to pay him, or any other young Sioux, who would go to those bands and carry my word. He promised to make known my wishes upon his return. My men returned in the evening without my canoe, having been so unfortunate as to split her in carrying her over the rough hilly ice in the ripples below. So many disappointments almost wearied out my patience; but, notwithstanding, I intended to embark by land and water in a few days.

DEC. 9th, *Monday.*—Prepared to embark. Expecting the Sioux, I had two large kettles of soup made for them. Had a shooting match with four prizes. The Sioux did not arrive, and we eat the soup ourselves. Crossed the river and encamped above the rapids. Wind changed and it grew cold.

DEC. 10th, *Tuesday.*—After arranging our sleds * and peroque, commenced our march. The sleds on the prairie and the peroque towed by three men. Found it extremely difficult to get along, the snow being melted off the prairie in spots. The men who had the canoe were obliged to wade and drag her over the rocks in many places. Shot the only deer I saw. It fell three times, and after made its escape. This was a great disappointment, for upon the game we took now we depended for our subsistence. This evening disclosed to my men the real danger they had to encounter. Distance five miles.

DEC. 14th, *Saturday.*—We departed from our encamp-

* My sleds were such as are frequently seen about farmers' yards, calculated to hold two barrels, or four hundred weight, in which two men were geared abreast.

ment at the usual hour, but had not advanced one mile when the foremost sled, which happened unfortunately to carry my baggage and ammunition, fell into the river. We were all in the river up to our middles, in recovering the things. Halted and made a fire. Came on to where the river was frozen over. Stopped and encamped on the west shore, in a pine wood. Upon examining my things, found all my baggage wet, and some of my books materially injured; but a still greater injury was that all of my cartridges, and four pounds of double battle Sussex powder for my own use,was destroyed. Fortunately my kegs of powder were preserved dry, and some bottles of common glazed powder, which were so tightly corked, as not to admit water. Had this not been the case, my voyage must necessarily have been terminated, for we could not have subsisted without ammunition. During the time of our misfortune, two Fols Avoin Indians came to us, one of whom was at my stockade, on the 29th ult., in company with the Sioux. I signified to them by signs the place of our intended encampment, and invited them to come and encamp with us. They left me, and both arrived at my camp in the evening, having each a deer which they presented me; I gave them my canoe, to keep until spring; and in the morning at parting made them a small present. Sat up until three o'clock P. M., drying and assorting my ammunition, baggage, &c. Killed two deer. Distance four miles.

DEC. 21st, *Saturday.*—BRADLEY and myself went on ahead, and overtook my interpreter, who had left camp very early in hopes that he would be able to see the river De Corbeau, where he had twice wintered. He was immediately opposite to a large island, which he supposed to have great resemblance to an island opposite the mouth of the above river; but finally he concluded it was not the island, and returned to camp. But this was actually the river, as we

discovered when we got to the head of the island from which we could see the rivers entrance. This fact exposes the ignorance and inattention of the French and traders, and with the exception of a few intelligent men, what little confidence is to be placed on their information. We ascended the Mississippi about five miles above the confluence; found it frozen; but in many places, not more than one hundred yards over, mild and still. Indeed, all the appearance of a small river of a low country. Returned and found my party, having broke sleds, &c., had only made good three miles, while I had marched thirty-five.

DEC. 31st, *Tuesday.*—Passed Pine River about eleven o'clock. At its mouth there was a Chippeway's encampment of fifteen lodges, this had been occupied in the summer, but is now vacant. By the significations of their marks, we understood that they had marched a party of fifty warriors against the Sioux; and had killed four men and four women, which were represented by images carved out of pine or cedar. The four men painted and put in the ground to the middle, leaving above ground those parts which are generally concealed; by their sides were four painted poles, sharpened at the end to represent the women. Near this were poles with deer skins, plumes, silk handkerchiefs, &c. Also a circular hoop of cedar with something attached, representing a scalp. Near each lodge they had holes dug in the ground, and boughs ready to cover them, as a retreat for their women and children if attacked by the Sioux, &c.

JAN. 1st, 1806, *Wednesday.*—Passed six very elegant bark canoes, on the bank of the river, which had been laid up by the Chippeways; also a camp which we conceived to have been evacuated about ten days. My interpreter came after me in a great hurry, conjuring me not to go so far ahead, and assured me that the Chippeways, encountering me without an interpreter, party, or flag, would certainly

kill me. But notwithstanding this, I went on several miles farther than usual, in order to make any discoveries that were to be made. Made some extra presents for new years day.

JAN. 3d, *Friday.*—My party marched early, but I returned with Mr. GRANT to his establishment on the Red Cedar Lake, having one corporal with me. When we came in sight of his house, I observed the flag of Great Britain flying. I felt indignant and cannot say what my feelings would have excited me to, had he not informed me, that it belonged to the Indians. This was not much more agreeable to me. After explaining to a Chippeway warrior (called CURLY HEAD) the object of my voyage, and receiving his answer, that he would remain tranquil until my return. We eat a good breakfast for the country, departed and overtook my sleds just at dusk. Distance sixteen miles.

JAN. 4th, *Saturday.*—We made twenty-eight points in the river; broad, good bottom, and of the usual timber. In the night I was awakened by the cry of the sentinel, calling repeatedly to the men. This immediately aroused me; at first I seized my arms, but looking round, I saw my tents in flames. The men flew to my assistance and we tore them down but not until they were entirely ruined. This, with the loss of my leggins, mockinsons, socks, &c., which I had hung up to dry, was no trivial misfortune, in such a country, and on such a voyage. But I had reason to thank God that the powder, three small casks of which I had in my tent, did not take fire; if it had, I must certainly have lost all my baggage, if not my life.

JAN. 8th, *Wednesday.*—Conceiving that I was at no great distance from Sandy Lake, I left my sleds, and with corporal BRADLEY, took my departure for that place, intending to send him back the same evening. We walked on very briskly until night, when at length we struck the

shore of Lake De Sable, over a branch of which our course lay. The snow having covered the trail made by the Frenchmen who had passed before with the rackets, I was fearful of losing ourselves on the lake; the consequence of which can only be conceived by those who have been exposed on a lake, or naked plain, a dreary night of January, in latitude 47° and the thermometer below 0. Thinking that we could observe the bank of the other shore, we kept a straight course, and sometime after discovered lights, and on our arrival were not a little surprised to find a large stockade. The gate being open, we entered and proceeded to the quarters of Mr. GRANT, where we were treated with the utmost hospitality.

JAN. 9th, *Thursday.*—Marched the corporal early, in order that our men should receive assurance of our safety and success. He carried with him a small keg of spirits, a present from Mr. GRANT. The establishment of this place was formed twelve years since, by the N. W. Company, and was formerly under the charge of a Mr. CHARLES BRUSKY. It has attained at present such regularity, as to permit the superintendent to live tolerably comfortable. Tney have horses they procured from Red River, of the Indians; raise plenty of Irish potatoes, catch pike, suckers, pickerel and white fish in abundance. They have also beaver, deer and moose; but the provision they chiefly depend upon, is wild oats, of which they purchase great quantities from the savages, giving at the rate of about one dollar and a half per bushel. But flour, pork, and salt, are almost interdicted to persons not principals in the trade. Flour sells at half a dollar; salt a dollar; pork eighty cents; sugar half a dollar; coffee——, and tea four dollars fifty cents per pound. The sugar is obtained from the Indians, and is made from the maple tree.

JAN. 15, *Wednesday.*—Mr. GRANT and myself made the

tour of the lake, with two men, whom I had, for attendants. Found it to be much larger, than could be imagined at a view. My men sawed stocks for the sleds, which I found it necessary to construct after the manner of the country. On our march, met an Indian coming into the fort; his countenance expressed no little astonishment, when told who I was and from whence I came; for the people in this country themselves acknowledge, that the savages hold in greater veneration, the Americans, than any other white people. They say of us, when alluding to warlike achievements, that "we are neither Frenchmen nor Englishmen, but white Indians."

JAN. 18th, *Saturday.*—Busy in preparing my baggage, &c., for my departure for Leech Lake, reading, &c.

JANUARY 20th, *Monday.*—The men, with the sleds, took their departure about two o'clock. Shortly after I followed them. We encamped at the portage between the Mississippi and Leech Lake River. Snow fell in the night.

JANUARY 25th, *Saturday.*—Traveled almost all day through the lands, and found them much better than usual. BOLEY lost the Sioux pipe stem, which I carried along, for the purpose of making peace with the Chippeways; I sent him back for it, he did not return until 11 o'clock at night. It was very warm; thawing all day. Distance forty-four points.

JANUARY 26th, *Sunday.*—I left my party, in order to proceed to a house (or lodge) of Mr. GRANT'S, on the Mississippi, where he was to tarry until I overtook him. Took with me my Indian, BOLEY, and some trifling provisions; the Indian and myself marched so fast that we left BOLEY on the route, about eight miles from the lodge. Met Mr. GRANT'S men, on their return to Lake De Sable, having evacuated the house this morning, and Mr. GRANT having marched for Leech Lake. The Indian and I arrived before

sundown. Passed the night very uncomfortably, having nothing to eat, not much wood, nor any blankets. The Indian slept sound. I cursed his insensibility, being obliged to content myself over a few coals all night. BOLEY did not arrive. In the night the Indian mentioned something about his son, &c.

FEBRUARY 1st, *Saturday.*—Left our camp pretty early. Passed a continued train of prairie, and arrived at Lake La Sang Sue, at half-past two o'clock. I will not attempt to describe my feelings, on the accomplishment of my voyage, for this is the main source of the Mississippi. The Lake Winipic branch is navigable, from thence to Red Cedar Lake, for the distance of five leagues, which is the extremity of the navigation. Crossed the lake twelve miles to the establishment of the N. W. Company, where we arrived about three o'clock; found all the gates locked, but upon knocking, were admitted, and received with marked attention and hospitality by Mr. HUGH M'GILLIS. Had a good dish of coffee, biscuit, butter, and cheese for supper.

FEBRUARY 2d, *Sunday.*—Remained all day within doors. In the evening sent an invitation to Mr. ANDERSON, who was agent of DICKSON, and also for some young Indians, at his house, to come over and breakfast in the morning.

FEBRUARY 7th, *Friday.*—Remained within doors, my limbs being still very much swelled. Addressed a letter to Mr. M'GILLIS on the subject of the N. W. Company trade in this quarter.

EXTRACT FROM THE LETTER OF LIEUT. PIKE TO HUGH M'GILLIS.

I have therefore to request of you, assurance on the following heads, which setting aside the chicanery of law, as a gentleman, you will strictly adhere to, viz:

That you will make representations to your agents, at your headquarters, on Lake Superior, of the quantity of goods wanted the ensuing spring, for your establishments in the territory of the United States, in

time sufficient, or as early as possible, for them to enter them at the C. H. of Michilimackinac, and obtain a clearance and license to trade in due form.

2d. That you will give immediate instruction to all your posts in said territory, under your direction, at no time and on no pretence whatever to hoist, or suffer to be hoisted, the English flag. If you conceive a flag necessary, you may make use of that of the United States, which is the only one which can be admitted.

3d. That you will on no further occasion, present a flag or medal to an Indian; hold councils with them on political subjects, or others foreign from that of trade; but on being applied to on those heads, refer them to the American agents, informing them that they are the only persons authorized to hold councils of a political nature with them.

FEB. 9th, *Sunday.*—Mr. M'GILLIS and myself paid a visit to Mr. ANDERSON, an agent of Mr. DICKSON, of the Lower Mississippi, who resided at the west end of the lake. Found him eligibly situated as to trade, but his houses bad.

FEB. 10th, *Monday.*—Hoisted the American flag in the fort. The English yacht still flying at the top of the flag staff, I directed the Indians and my riflemen to shoot at it, who soon broke the iron pin to which it was fastened, and brought it to the ground.

FEBRUARY 11th, *Tuesday*—The SWEET, BUCK, BURNT, &c., arrived, all chiefs of note, but the former in particular, a venerable old man. From him I learnt, that the Sioux occupied this ground when (to use his own phrase) "He was a made man, and began to hunt; that they occupied it the year that the French Missionaries were killed, at the river Pacagama."

FEBRUARY 12th, *Wednesday*—BRADLEY and myself with Mr. M'GILLIS and two of his men, left Leech Lake at 10 o'clock, and arrived at the house at Red Cedar Lake, at sunset; a distance of thirty miles.

FEBRUARY 13th, *Thursday*—Were favored with a beautiful day. At this place it was, Mr. THOMPSON made his observations in 1798, from which he determined that the source of

the Mississippi was in 47° 38. I walked about three miles back in the country, in two thirds water. One of our men marched to Lake Winnepic and returned by one o'clock, for the stem of the SWEET'S pipe, a matter of more consequence in his affairs, with the Sioux, than the diploma of many an ambassador.

FEBRUARY 14th, *Friday*—Left the house at nine o'clock. It becomes me here to do justice to the hospitality of our hosts; one ROY, a Canadian and his wife, a Chippeway squaw. They relinquished for our use, the only thing in the house, that could be called a bed; attended us like servants, nor could either of them be persuaded to touch a mouthful until we had finished our repasts. We made the garrison about sundown, having been drawn at least ten miles in a sleigh, by two small dogs; who were loaded with two hundred pounds, and went so fast as to render it difficult, for the men with snow-shoes, to keep up with them. The chiefs asked my permission to dance the calumet dance which I granted.

FEBRUARY 15th, *Saturday*—The FLAT MOUTH, chief of the Leech Lake village, and many other Indians arrived. Noted down the heads of my speech, and had it translated into French, in order that the interpreter should be perfectly master of his subject. Received a letter from Mr. M'GILLIS.

EXTRACT FROM THE LETTER OF HUGH M'GILLIS TO LIEUT. PIKE.

The enclosures to protect our stores and dwelling houses from the insults and barbarity of savage rudeness, have been erected for the security of my property and person in a country, till now, exposed to the wild will of the frantic Indians: we never formed the smallest idea that the said enclosures might ever be useful in the juncture of a rupture between the two powers, nor do we now conceive that such poor shifts will ever be employed by the British government, in a country overshadowed with wood, so adequate to every purpose. Forts might in a short period of time be built far superior to any stockades we may have occasion to erect.

We were not conscious, sir, of the error I acknowledge we have been

guilty to commit, by exhibiting to view on your territory any standard of Great Britain. I will pledge myself to your government, that I will use my utmost endeavors, as soon as possible, to prevent the future display of the British flag, or the presenting of medals, or the exhibiting to public view, any other mark of European power, throughout the extent of territory known to belong to the dominion of the United States. The custom has long been established, and we innocently and inoffensively, as we imagined, have conformed to it till the present day.

Be persuaded that on no consideration, shall any Indian be entertained on political subjects, or on any affairs foreign to our trade; and reference shall be made to the American agents, should any application be made worthy such reference; and be assured that we as a commercial company must find it ever our interests to interfere as little as possible with affairs of government in the course of trade; ignorant as we are in this rude and distant country of the political views of nations.

We are convinced that the inestimable advantages arising from the endeavors of your government, to establish a more peaceful course of trade in this part of the territory belonging to the United States, are not acquired through the mere liberality of a nation, and are ready to contribute to the expense necessarily attending them. We are not averse to pay the common duties established by law, and will ever be ready to conform ourselves to all rules and regulations of trade that may be established according to common justice.

FEBRUARY 16th, *Sunday*.—Held a council with the chiefs and warriors at this place, and of Red Lake; but it required much patience, coolness, and management to obtain the objects I desired, viz: That they should make peace with the Sioux; deliver up their medals and flags; and that some of their chiefs should follow me to St. Louis. As a proof of their agreeing to the peace, I directed that they should smoke out of the WABASHA'S pipe, which lay on the table; they all smoked, from the head chief to the youngest soldier; they generally delivered up their flags with a good grace; except the FLAT MOUTH, who said he had left both at his camp, three days march, and promised to deliver them up to Mr. M'GILLIS, to be forwarded. With respect to their returning with me; the old SWEET thought it most proper to return, to the Indians of the Red Lake, Red River, and

Rainy Lake River. The FLAT MOUTH said, it was necessary for him to restrain his young warriors, &c. The other chiefs did not think themselves of consequence sufficient, to offer any reason for not following me to St. Louis, a journey of between two and three thousand, miles through hostile tribes of Indians. I then told them, "that I was sorry to find, that the hearts of the Sauteurs of this quarter, were so weak, that the other nations would say—what, are there no soldiers at Leech, Red, and Rainy Lakes, who had the hearts to carry the calumet of their chief to their father?" This had the desired effect. The BUCKS and BEAUX, two of the most celebrated young warriors, rose and offered themselves to me, for the embassy; they were accepted; adopted as my children, and I installed their father. Their example animated the others, and it would have been no difficult matter to have taken a company; two however were sufficient. I determined that it should be my care, never to make them regret the noble confidence placed in me; for I would have protected their lives with my own. The BEAUX is brother to the FLAT MOUTH. Gave my new soldiers a dance, and a small dram. They attempted to get more liquor, but a firm and peremptory denial convinced them I was not to be trifled with.

FEBRUARY 18th, *Tuesday.*—We marched for Red Cedar Lake about 11 o'clock, with a guide, provided for me by Mr. M'GILLIS; were all provided with snow shoes; marched off amidst the acclamations and shouts of the Indians, who generally had remained to see us take our departure. Mr. ANDERSON promised to come on with letters; he arrived about 12 o'clock and remained all night. He concluded to go down with me, to see Mr. DICKSON.

FEB. 19th, *Wednesday.*—BRADLEY, Mr. L'RONE, the two young Indians, and myself, left Mr. M'GILLIS at 10 o'clock;

crossed Leech Lake in a S. E. direction, 24 miles. Mr. M'GILLIS' hospitality deserves to be particularly noticed; he presented me with his dogs and cariole, valued in this country at two hundred dollars; one of the dogs broke out of his harness, and we were not able, during the day, to catch him again, and the other poor fellow was obliged to pull the whole load, at least 150 pounds. This day's march was from lake to lake.

FEB. 24th, *Monday.*—We started early, and after passing over one of the worst roads in the world, found ourselves on a lake, about 3 o'clock; took its outlet and struck the Mississippi about one mile below the canoes mentioned on the 1st of January, by which I knew where we were. Ascended the Mississippi about four miles, and encamped on the west side. Our general course, this day, was nearly south, when it should have been S. E. My young warriors were still in good heart, singing and shewing every wish to keep me so. The pressure of my racket strings brought the blood through my socks and mockinsons, from which the pain I marched in may be imagined.

FEB. 25th, *Tuesday.*—We marched, and arrived at Cedar Lake before noon; found Mr. GRANT and DE BRECHE (chief of Sandy Lake) at the house. This gave me much pleasure, for I conceive Mr. GRANT to be a gentleman of as much candor as any with whom I had made an acquaintance in this quarter; and the chief (DE BRECHE) is reputed to be a man of better information than any of the Sauteurs.

MARCH 3d, *Monday.*—Marched early; passed our Christmas encampment at sunrise. I was ahead of my party in a cariole. Soon afterwards, I observed smoke on the west shore. I hallooed, and some Indians appeared upon the bank. I waited until my interpreter came up; we then went to the camp. They proved to be a party of Chippewas, who had left the encampment the same day we left it.

They presented me with some roast meat, which I gave my sleigh dogs. They then left their camp, and accompanied us down the river. We passed our encampment of the 24th December, at 9 o'clock, of the 23d at 10 o'clock, and of the 22d at 11 o'clock; here the Indians crossed to the west shore; arrived at the encampment of the 21st December, at 12 o'clock, where we had a barrel of flour. I here found Corporal MEEK and another man, from the post, from whom I heard that the men were all well. They confirmed the account of a Sioux having fired on a sentinel. We raised our barrel of flour, and came down to the mouth of a little river, on the east, which we passed on the 21st December. The ice covered the water.

MARCH 5th *Wednesday.*—Passed all the encampments between Pine Creek and the post, at which we arrived about 10 o'clock. I sent a man on ahead to prevent the salute I had before ordered by letter; this I did from the idea that the Sioux chiefs would accompany me. Found all well. About 1 o'clock, Mr. DICKSON arrived with the KILLEUR ROUGE, his son, and two other Sioux men, with two women, who had come up to be introduced to the Sauteurs they expected to find with me. Received a letter from REINVILLE.

MARCH 15th, *Saturday.*—This was the day fixed upon by Mr. GRANT and the Chippeway warriors, for their arrival at my Fort; and I was all day anxiously expecting them, for I knew that should they not accompany me down, the peace partially effected between them and the Sioux would not be on a permanent footing; and upon this I take them to be neither so brave nor generous as the Sioux, who, in all their taansactions, appear to be candid and brave, whereas, the Chippewas are *suspicious*, consequently *treacherous*, and, of course, *cowards*.

MARCH 17th, *Monday.*—Left the fort with my interpreter and ROY, in order to visit THOMAS, the Fols Avoin chief,

who was encamped with six lodges of his nation, about twenty miles below us, on a little river which empties into the Mississippi on the west side a little above Clear River. It snowed all day, and at night a severe storm arose. It may be imagined that we spent a very disagreeable night, without shelter, and but one blanket each.

MARCH 18th, *Tuesday.*—We marched, determined to find the lodges. Met an Indian whose track we pursued through almost impenetrable woods, for about two and a half miles, to the camps. Here there was one of the finest sugar camps I almost ever saw, the whole of the timber being sugar tree. We were conducted to the chief's lodge, who received us in the patriarchal style. After we had refreshed ourselves, he asked whether we would visit his people at the other lodges, which we did; and in each were presented with something to eat; by some with a bowl of sugar, others, a beaver's tail, &c. After making this tour, we returned to the chief's lodge, and found a berth provided for each of us, of good soft bear skins, nicely spread, and on mine there was a large feather pillow. I must not here omit to mention an anecdote, which serves to characterize, more particularly, their manners. This, in the eyes of the contracted moralist, would deform my hospitable host into a monster of libertinism; but by a liberal mind, would be considered as arising from the hearty generosity of the wild savage. In the course of the day, observing a ring on one of my fingers, he inquired if it was gold; he was told it was the gift of one with whom I should be happy to be at that time. He seemed to think seriously, and at night told my interpreter, "that perhaps his father (as they all called me) felt much grieved for the want of a woman; if so, he could furnish him with one." He was answered, that with us, each man had but one wife, and that I considered it strictly my duty to remain faithful to her. This he thought

strange, (he himself having three,) and replied that "he knew some Americans at his nation, who had half a dozen wives during the winter." The interpreter observed, that they were men without character, but that all our great men had each but one wife. The chief acquiesced, but said he liked better to have as many as he pleased. This conversation passing without any appeal to me, as the interpreter knew my mind on those occasions, and answered immediately, it did not appear as an immediate refusal of the woman. Continued snowing very hard all day. Slept very warm.

MARCH, 29th, *Saturday.*—We all marched in the morning. Mr. GRANT and party for Sandy Lake, and I for my hunting camp. I gave him my spaniel dog. He joined me again after we had separated about five miles. Arrived at my hunting camp about eight o'clock in the morning, and was informed that my hunters had gone to bring in a deer; they arrived with it, and about eleven o'clock we all went out hunting. Saw but few deer, out of which I had the good fortune to kill two. On our arrival at camp found one of my men at the garrison with a letter from Mr. DICKSON. The soldier informed me that one Sioux had arrived with Mr. DICKSON'S men. Although much fatigued, soon as I had eat something, I took one of my men and departed for the garrison one hour before sundown. The distance was twenty-one miles, and the ice very dangerous, being rotten, and the water over it nearly a foot deep; we had sticks in our hands, and in many places ran them through the ice. It thundered and lightened, with rain. The Sioux not finding the Sauteurs, had returned immediately.

MARCH 30th, *Sunday.*—Wrote to Mr. DICKSON, and dispatched his man. Considerably stiff from my yesterday's march. Caulked our boats, as the ice had every appearance of breaking up in a few days. Thus whilst on the wing of eager expectation, every day seemed an age.

APRIL 7th, *Monday.*—Loaded our boats and departed forty minutes past ten o'clock. At one o'clock arrived at Clear River, where we found my canoe and men. Although I had partly promised the Fols Avoin chief to remain one night, yet time was too precious, and we put off; passed the Grand Rapids, and arrived at Mr. DICKSON'S just before sundown; we were saluted with three rounds. At night he treated all my men with a supper and dram. Mr. DICKSON, Mr. PAULIER and myself, sat up until four o'clock in the morning.

APRIL 8th, *Tuesday.*—Were obliged to remain this day on account of some information to be obtained here. I spent the day in making a rough chart of St. Peters, making notes on the Sioux, &c., settling the affairs of the Indian department with Mr. DICKSON, for whose communications, and those of Mr. PAULIER, I am infinitely indebted. Made every necessary preparation for an early embarkation.

APRIL 9th, *Wednesday.*—Rose early in the morning and commenced my arrangements. Having observed two Indians drunk, during the night, and finding upon enquiry, that the liquor had been furnished them by a Mr. GREIGNOR or JENNESSE, I sent my interpreter to them to request they would not sell any strong liquor to the Indians, upon which Mr. JENNESSE demanded the restrictions in writing, which were given to him.

On demanding his license, it amounted to no more than merely a certificate that he had paid the tax required by law of the Indian territory, on all retailers of merchandize; but it was by no means an Indian license; however, I did not think proper to go into a more close investigation. Last night was so cold that the water was covered with cakes of floating ice, of a strong consistence. After receiving every mark of attention from Messrs. DICKSON and PAULIER, I took my departure at eight o'clock. At

four P. M. arrived at the house of Mr. PAULIER, twenty-five leagues, to whose brother I had a letter. Was received with politeness by him and a Mr. VEAU, who wintered along side of him on the very island at which we had encamped on the night of the —— Oct., in ascending.

APRIL 10th, *Thursday.*—Sailed at half-past five o'clock; about seven passed Rum River, and at eight were saluted by six or seven lodges of Fols Avoins, amongst whom was a Mr. ——, a clerk of Mr. DICKSON'S. Those people had wintered on Rum River, and were waiting for their chiefs and traders to descend in order to accompany them to the Prairie des Chiens. Arrived at the Falls of St. Anthony at ten o'clock. Carried over all our loading and the canoe to the lower end of the portage, and hauled our boats upon the bank. I pitched my tents at the lower end of the encampment where all the men encamped except the guard, whose quarters were above. The appearance of the Falls was much more tremendous than when we ascended; the increase of water occasioned the spray to raise much higher, and the mist appeared like clouds. How different my sensations now, from what they were when at this place before: at hat time not having accomplished more than half my route, winter fast approaching; war existing between the most savage nations in the course of my route; my provisions greatly diminished, and but a poor prospect of an additional supply. Many of my men sick, and the others not a little disheartened; and our success in this arduous undertaking, very doubtful; just upon the borders of the haunts of civilized men, about to launch into an unknown wilderness; for ours was the first canoe that had ever crossed this portage, were sufficient to dispossess my breast of contentment and ease. But now we have accomplished every wish, peace reigns throughout the vast extent; we have returned thus far on our voyage

without the loss of a single man, and hoping soon to be blessed with the society of our relations and friends. The river this morning covered with ice, which continued floating all day. The shores still barricaded with it.

APRIL 11th, *Friday.*—Although it snowed very hard, we brought over both boats and descended the river to the island at the entrance of the St. Peters. I sent to the chiefs and informed them I had something to communicate to them. The FILS DE PINCHON immediately awaited on me, and informed me that he would provide a place for the purpose. About sundown I was sent for and introduced into the council house, where I found a great many chiefs of the Sussitongs, Gens des Feuilles, and the Gens du Lac. The Yactongs had not yet come down. They were all waiting for my arrival. There were about one hundred lodges, or six hundred people; we were saluted on our crossing the river with ball, as usual. The council house was two large lodges, capable of containing three hundred men. In the upper were forty chiefs, and as many pipes set against the poles, along side of which I had the Sauteurs' pipes arranged. I then informed them in short detail, of my transactions with the Sauteurs; but my interpreters were not capable of making themselves understood. I was therefore obliged to omit mentioning every particular relative to the rascal who fired on my sentinel, and of the scoundrel who broke the Fols Avoins' canoes, and threatened my life; the interpreters however informed them that I wanted some of their principal chiefs to go to St. Louis; and that those who thought proper might descend to the prairie where we would give them more explicit information. They all smoked out of the Sauteurs' pipes, excepting three, who were painted black, and were some of those who lost their relations last winter. I invited the FILS DE PINCHON, and the son of the KILLEUR ROUGE, to come over and sup with me; when

Mr. DICKSON and myself endeavored to explain what I intended to have said to them, could I have made myself understood; that at the prairie we would have all things explained; that I was desirous of making a better report of them than Capt. LEWIS could do from their treatment of him. The former of those savages was the person who remained around my post all last winter, and treated my men so well; they endeavored to excuse their people, &c.

APRIL 12th, *Saturday*.—Embarked early. Although my interpreter had been frequently up the river, he could not tell me where the cave (spoken of by CARVER) could be found; we carefully sought for it, but in vain. At the Indian village, a few miles below St. Peters, we were about to pass a few lodges, but on receiving a very particular invitation to come on shore, we landed, and were received in a lodge kindly; they presented us sugar, &c. I gave the proprietor a dram, and was about to depart when he demanded a kettle of liquor: on being refused, and after I had left the shore, he told me, that he did not like the arrangements, and that he would go to war this summer. I directed the interpreter to tell him, that if I returned to the St. Peters with the troops, I would settle that affair with him. On our arrival at the St. Croix, I found the PETIT CORBEAU with his people, and Messrs. FRAZER and WOOD. We had a conference, when the PETIT CORBEAU made many apologies for the misconduct of his people. He then presented me with a beaver robe and pipe, and his message to the general. That he was determined to preserve peace, and make the road clear; also a remembrance of his promised medal. I made a reply, calculated to confirm him in his good intentions, and assured him that he should not be the less remembered by his father, although not present. I was informed, that, notwithstanding the instruction of his license, and my

particular request, MURDOCH CAMERON had taken liquor and sold it to the Indians, on the river St. Peters; and that his partner below had been equally imprudent. I pledged myself to prosecute them according to law: for they have been the occasion of great confusion, and of much injury to the other traders. This day met a canoe of Mr. DICKSONS' loaded with provisions, under the charge of Mr. ANDERSON, brother of the Mr. ANDERSON at Leech Lake. He politely offered me any provision he had on board, (for which Mr. DICKSON had given me an order) but not now being in want, I did not accept of any. This day, for the first time, I observed the trees beginning to bud, and indeed the climate seemed to have changed very materially since we passed the Falls of St. Anthony.

APRIL 13th, *Sunday.*—We embarked after breakfast. Messrs. FRAZER and WOOD accompanied me. Wind strong ahead. They out-rowed us; the first boat or canoe we met with on the voyage able to do it, but then they were double manned and light. Arrived at the band of the AILE ROUGE at two o'clock, where we were saluted as usual. We had a council, when he spoke with more detestation of the rascals at the mouth of the St. Peters, than any man I had yet heard.

In short, after much talk, I agreed to remain one day, knowing that the Lake was closed, and that we could proceed only nine miles if we went; this appeared to give general satisfaction.

I was invited to different feasts, and entertained at one by a person whose father was enacted a chief by the Spaniards. At this feast I saw a man (called by the French the ROMAN NOSE, and by the Indians THE WIND THAT WALKS) who was formerly the second chief of the Sioux, but being the cause of the death of one of the traders, seven years since, he voluntarily relinquished the dignity, and has frequently requested to be given up to the whites.

But he was now determined to go to St Louis and deliver himself up where he said they might put him to death. His long repentance, the great confidence of the nation in him, would perhaps protect him from a punishment which the crime merited. But as the crime was committed long before the United States assumed its authority, and as no law of theirs could affect it, unless it was ex post facto, and had a retrospective effect, I conceive it would certainly be dispunishable now. I did not think proper however, to inform him so. I here received a letter from Mr. ROLLET, partner of Mr. CAMERON, with a present of some brandy, coffee and sugar. I hesitated about receiving those articles from the partner of the man I intended to prosecute; their amount being trifling however I accepted of them, offering him pay. I assured him that the prosecution arose from a sense of duty, and not from any personal prejudice. My canoe did not come up in consequence of the head wind. Sent out two men in a canoe to set fishing lines; the canoe overset, and had it not been for the timely assistance of the savages, who carried them into their lodges, undressed them, and treated them with the greatest humanity and kindness, they must inevitably have perished. At this place I was informed, that the rascal spoken of as having threatened my life, had actually cocked his gun to shoot me from behind the hills, but was prevented by the others.

APRIL 14th, *Monday.*—Was invited to a feast by the ROMAN NOSE. His conversation was interesting, and shall be detailed hereafter. The other Indians not yet arrived: Messrs. WOOD, FRAZER, and myself, ascended a high hill called the Barn, from which we had a view of Lake Pepin. The valley through which the Mississippi by numerous channels wound itself to the St. Croix; the Cannon River and the lofty hills on each side.

APRIL 15th, *Tuesday.*—Arose very early and embarked

about sunrise, much to the astonishment of the Indians, who were entirely prepared for the council, when they heard I had put off; however, after some conversation with Mr. FRAZER, they acknowledged that it was agreeably to what I had said, that I would sail early, and that they could not blame me. I was very positive in my word, for I found it by far the best way to treat the Indians. The AILE ROUGE had a beaver robe and pipe prepared to present, but was obliged for the present to retain it. Passed through Lake Pepin with my barges, the canoe being obliged to lay by, did not come on. Stopped at a prairie on the right bank descending, about nine miles below Lake Pepin. Went out to view some hills which had the appearance of the old fortifications spoken of; but I will speak more fully of them hereafter. In these hollows, I discovered a flock of elk; took out fifteen men, but we were not able to kill any. Mr. FRAZER came up and passed on about two miles. We encamped together. Neither Mr. WOOD'S nor my canoe arrived. Snowed considerably.

APRIL 16th, *Wednesday.*—Mr. FRAZER'S canoes and my boats sailed about one hour by sun. We waited some time expecting Mr. WOOD'S barges, and my canoe, but hearing a gun fired just above our encampment, we were induced to make sail. Passed the Aile Prairie, also La Montagne qui Trempe a L'eau, the Prairie de Cross, and encamped on the west shore, a few hundred yards below, where I had encamped on the——day of September, in ascending. This day the trees appeared in bloom. Snow might still be seen on the sides of the hills. Distance seventy-five miles.

APRIL 17th, *Thursday.*—Put off pretty early and arrived at WABASHA'S band at 11 o'clock, where I detained all day for him; but he alone of all the hunters remained out all night. Left some powder and tobacco for him. The

Sioux presented me with a kettle of boiled meat and a deer. I here received information that the Puants had killed some white men below. Mr. WOOD'S and my canoe arrived.

APRIL 18th, *Friday.*—Departed from our encampment very early. Stopped to breakfast at the Painted Rock. Arrived at the Prairie des Cheins at two o'clock; and were received by crowds on the bank. Took up my quarters at Mr. FISHER'S. My men received a present of one barrel of pork from Mr. CAMPBELL, a bag of biscuit, twenty loaves of bread, and some meat from Mr. FISHER. A Mr. JEARREAU, from Cahokia, is here, who embarks to-morrow for St. Louis. I wrote to Gen. WILKINSON by him. I was called on by a number of chiefs, Reynards, Sioux of the Des Moyan, &c. The Winnebagoes were here intending, as I was informed, to deliver some of the murderers to me. Received a great deal of news from the States and Europe, both civil and military.

APRIL 19th, *Saturday.*—Dined at Mr. CAMPBELL'S in company with Messrs. WILMOT, BLAKELY, WOOD, ROLLET, FISHER, FRAZER and JEARREAU. Six canoes arrived from the upper part of the St. Peters with the Yanctong chiefs from the head of that river. Their appearance was indeed savage, much more so than any nation I have yet seen. Prepared my boat for sail. Gave notice to the Puants that I had business to do with them the next day. A band of the Gens du Lac arrived. Took into my pay as interpreter Mr. Y. REINVILLE.

APRIL 20th, *Sunday.*—Held a council with the Puant chiefs, and demanded of them the murderers of their nation; they required till to-morrow to consider on it; this afternoon they had a great game of "the cross" on the prairie, between the Sioux on the one side, and the Puants and the Reynards on the other. It is an interesting sight to see two or three hundred naked savages contending on the

plain who shall bear off the palm of victory; as he who drives the ball round the goal is much shouted at by his companions. It sometimes happens that one catches the ball in his racket, and depending on his speed endeavors to carry it to the goal, and when he finds himself too closely pursued, he hurls it with great force and dexterity to an amazing distance, where there are always flankers of both parties ready to receive it; it seldom touches the ground, but is sometimes kept in the air for hours before either party can gain the victory. In the game I witnessed, the Sioux were victorious, more I believe, from the superiority of their skill in throwing the ball, than by their swiftness, for I thought the Puants and Reynards the swiftest runners. I made a written demand of the magistrates to take deposition concerning the late murders. Had a private conversation with WABASHA.

APRIL 25th, *Monday.*—Was sent for by LA FEUILLE, and had a long and interesting conversation with him, in which he spoke of the general jealousy of his nation towards their chiefs; and that although he knew it might occasion some of the Sioux displeasure, he did not hesitate to declare that he looked on the NEZ CORBEAU, as the man of most sense in their nation; and that he believed it would be generally acceptable if he was reinstated in his rank. Upon my return I was sent for by the RED THUNDER, chief of the Yanctongs, the most savage band of the Sioux. He was prepared with the most elegant pipes and robes I ever saw; and shortly he declared, "That white blood had never been shed in the village of the Yanctongs, even when rum was permitted; that Mr. MURDOCH CAMERON arrived at his village last autumn; that he invited him to eat, gave him corn as a bird; that he (CAMERON) informed him of the prohibition of rum, and was the only person who afterwards sold it in the village."

WHO DISCOVERED ITASCA LAKE?

LETTER OF WM. MORRISON, AN EARLY INDIAN TRADER.

CROW WING, BENTON COUNTY, M. T.,
17th February, 1856.

HON. ALEXANDER RAMSEY, St. Paul

DEAR SIR:—Inclosed you will find who the first discoverer of the source of the Mississippi is. WILLIAM MORRISON, my brother, came to this country in 1802 and left in 1826. He is now seventy-five years of age, and was the first American citizen who extended the first line of trading posts from Old Grand Portage to Lake of the Woods; was then agent for the old American Fur Company, of New York, and is well known in the West, by all the oldest pioneers. I am astonished that Mr. SCHOOLCRAFT should claim that honor, for I could with safety claim it before him myself; for I saw Itasca Lake before that gentleman or Mr. NICOLLET ever thought of coming to this part of the country. You will much oblige me by presenting the within information to the Historical Society of Minnesota, to which I will add, hereafter, some information relative to the first traders, their progress, etc.

I remain yours, most respectfully,
ALLAN MORRISON.

ALLAN MORRISON, Esq.:

DEAR BROTHER:—In answering your favor of the 10th of January, I will pass several incidents that I presume you

are well informed of, and give you the time and circumstances that led me to be the first white man that discovered the source of the great Mississippi River. I left Grand Portage, on the north shore of Lake Superior, now the boundary line between the United States and British Possessions, in the year 1802, and landed at Leech Lake in September or October, the same year. I wintered on one of the streams of the Crow Wing, near its source. Our Indians were Pillagers. In 1803 and 4, I went and wintered at Rice Lake. I passed by Red Cedar Lake, now called Cass Lake, followed up the Mississippi to Cross Lake, and then up the Mississippi again to Elk Lake, now called Itasca Lake, the source of the great River Mississippi. A short distance this side, I made a portage, to get to Rice River, which is called the Portage of the Heights of Land, or the dividing ridge that separates the waters of the Mississippi, and those that empty into the Red River of the north; thence to Hudson's Bay, the portage is short.

I discovered no traces of any white man before me, when I visited Itasca Lake, in 1804. And if the late General PIKE did not lay it down as such, when he came to Leech Lake, it is because he did not happen to meet me. I was at an outpost that winter. The late General PIKE laid down Cass Lake, on his map, as the head of the Mississippi River. In 1811–12, I went the same route, to winter on Rice River, near the plains. There I overtook a gentleman with an outfit, from Mackinac, by the name of OTESSE, with whom I parted only at Fond du Lac, he taking the southern route to Mackinac, and I the northern to headquarters, which had been changed from Grand Portage to Fort William. This will explain to you that I visited Itasca Lake, then called Elk Lake, in 1803–4, and in 1811–12, and five small streams that empty into the Lake, that are short, and soon lose themselves in the swamps.

By way of explanation, why the late General PIKE, then Captain PIKE, in 1805, who had orders to stem the Mississippi to its source, and was stopped by the ice a little below Swan River, at the place since called Pike's Rapids or Pike's Block House, and had to proceed from there to Leech Lake on foot. He had to learn there where the source of the Mississippi was. He went to Cass Lake, and could proceed no further. He had been told that I knew the source, but could not see me, I being out at an outpost. This want of information made him commit the error; some person, not knowing better, told him there was no river above Cass Lake. Cass Lake receives the waters of Cross Lake, and Cross Lake those of Itasca Lake, and five small streams that empty into Itasca Lake, then called Elk Lake. Those streams I have noted before, no white man can claim the discovery of the source of the Mississippi before me, for I was the first that saw and examined its shores.

Yours,

Signed, WM. MORRISON.

EARLY DAYS AT FORT SNELLING.

Previous to the organization of the Territory of Minnesota, in 1849, Fort Snelling was the only place of note beyond Prairie du Chien. For years it had been the point at which the missionary of the Cross, the man of science, the adventurous trader, made preparations for their journeys among the villages of the wandering Dakotas.

Beautifully located on an elevated bluff, at the junction of the Minnesota and Mississippi, its massive walls make a strong impression on the mind of the traveler. Within its enclosure have been quartered some of the most efficient officers of the United States Army, who have received with hospitality the various scientific expeditions that have from time to time passed through the country.

Its history and associations are full of interest and worthy of record in the Annals of Minnesota. On the island in front of the Fort, PIKE encamped, and entered into negotiations for the site of the present Fort, as the extracts from his journal, published in a previous chapter show.

In 1817, Major LONG, in a report to the War Department, recommended the site for a permanent Fort. In 1819, three hundred men of the Sixth regiment, under the command of Colonel LEAVENWORTH, left Detroit, for the purpose of commanding the Fort. They came by the way of Green Bay and Prairie du Chien. At this point a detachment was left, and the remainder ascended the Mississippi. On the 17th of September, they established a cantonment, on the South side of the Minnesota, at the present ferry.

In the "Pioneer Women of the West," a book written by Mrs. ELLETT, and published in 1852, life at the cantonment is described in the sketch of Mrs. CLARK, the wife of the first Commissary of the Fort. It appears that Mrs. CLARK accompanied her husband, the Commissary,* on his journey up the Mississippi, to the mouth of the Minnesota in Nov. 1819. It is stated that:

"Several persons went with them from Prairie du Chien; the voyage being made in keel boats, and the waters so low that the men were obliged frequently to wade in the river and draw them through the sand. Six weeks were occupied in passing over the distance of three hundred miles, one week of which was spent at Lake Pepin.

"Having reached the place of destination, the company were obliged to live in their boats till pickets could be erected for their protection against the Indians. "Huts had also to be built, though in the rudest manner, to serve as a shelter during the winter, from the rigors of a severe climate. After living with her family in the boat for a month, it was a highly appreciated luxury for Mrs. CLARK to find herself at home in a log hut, plastered with clay, and chinked for her reception. It was December before they got into their winter quarters, and the fierce winds

*[Maj. NATHAN CLARK was born in May, 1789, near Worcester, Mass. He entered the service as Second Lieut. in the 37th infantry, in 1812; was one of the officers retained in service when the army was reduced at the close of the war, and assigned to the 5th infantry. In 1816, he married Miss CHARLOTTE ANN SEYMOUR, of Hartford, Conn., the estimable lady mentioned in these sketches. In 1819 he was ordered to proceed with his regiment to St. Peters. During the march from Detroit to St. Peters, while at Prairie du Chien, a daughter was born, now Mrs. CHARLOTTE O. VAN CLEVE, of St. Anthony, Minn. The family lived at Fort Snelling nearly eight years. In 1827, Maj. CLARK was ordered to Fort Crawford, and subsequently to other posts; finally to Fort Winnebago, Wis., where he died, February 18, 1836. Mrs. CLARK still survives, and her memory of events of half a century ago at Fort Snelling is vivid and unimpaired; while her daughter, Mrs. VAN CLEVE, has contributed valuable reminiscences of those events to the 3rd volume of the Collections of this Society; page 66 and 106. W.]

of that exposed region, with terrific storms now and then, were enough to make them keep within doors as much as possible. Once in a violent tempest, the roof of their dwelling was raised by the wind, and partially slid off; there was no protection for the inmates, but the baby in the cradle was pushed under the bed for safety. Notwithstanding these discomforts and perils, the inconveniences they had to encounter, and their isolated situation, the little party of emigrants were not without the social enjoyments; they were nearly all young married persons, cheerful, and fond of gaiety, and had their dancing assemblages once a fortnight. An instance of the kindness of the Commanding officer, Col. LEAVENWORTH, deserves mention. One of the officers having been attacked with symptoms of scurvy, and great alarm prevailing on that account, the Colonel took a sleigh, and accompanied by a few friends, set off on a journey through the country inhabited by Indians, not knowing what dangers he might encounter from their hostility, or the perils of the way, for the purpose of procuring medicinal roots. The party was absent several days, and in the meantime collected a supply of hemlock and spignet, (spikenard,) which they used with excellent effect in curing the disease.

"In the ensuing summer (of 1820), when Col. SNELLING had the command, Fort Snelling was begun. St. Louis, distant nine hundred miles, was at that time the nearest town of any importance. After the erection of the Fort, Mrs. CLARK says:—'We made the first clearing at the Falls of St. Anthony, and built a grist mill.' The wife of Capt. GEORGE GOODING, of the 5th regiment, was the *first white woman* who ever visited those beautiful Falls. She afterwards married Col. JOHNSON, and went to reside at St. Louis.

"The daughter of Mrs. CLARK, now Mrs. VAN CLEVE,* was born while the troops were stationed at Prairie du Chien. At that time Col. LEAVENWORTH received orders to go up to the place where, in the following summer, Fort Snelling was built. He went, though he had at this time no wholesome provisions; even the bread, it was said, 'was two inches in the barrels thick with mold;' no vegetables were to be had, and several of the men were perishing with scurvy. No game could be bought from the Indians. The prices of such fresh edibles as could be procured at Prairie du Chien were enormous. A small and lean chicken procured for a sick lady, cost a dollar; beets as large as the finger $1 a dozen; and onions were ten dollars a bushel.

"Mrs. CLARK remained at Fort Snelling, with the exception of about a year, until 1827. The only young lady in the company was married when about fifteen years of age, to a Mr. DENNIS, also of the army. The wedding took place in the winter, and the bridal party was obliged to descend the river three hundred miles on the ice, to Prairie du Chien, to have the ceremony performed. The monotony of their life was varied by continual alarms and excitements, from the encounters of the hostile tribes of Sioux and Chippewas, who came frequently into their close neighborhood, and were not scrupulous as to deeds of violence and treachery towards each other."

In the spring of this year, the troops were moved from the south side of the Minnesota to a spot near the present St. Louis Hotel, which was designated as "Camp Coldwater."

In July, 1820, Gen. CASS and Mr. SCHOOLCRAFT, on their way from Lake Superior and the upper Mississippi to Prairie du Chien, visited the post. They were pleased with the fertility of the soil, and learned that green peas had

*[At present residing at St. Anthony, Minn.]

been raised and eaten by the fifteenth of June. Two block-houses, on the site of the present Fort, were erected about this time.

During the summer, LEAVENWORTH was relieved, and Col. SNELLING assumed the command. By order from Washington, he demanded of the Sisseton Dakotas the murderers of certain whites, on the Missouri.

One day in November, contrary to his expectation, one of the murderers and an old chief, a substitute for his son, were voluntarily brought to the encampment. The delivery was accompanied with much ceremony. A procession was formed at some distance from the garrison, and marched to the centre of the parade. It was preceded by a Sissetoan, bearing the British flag. The murderer and the chief, who offered himself as an atonement for his son, followed with their arms pinioned, and large splinters of wood thrust through them above the elbows, to indicate, as it was thought, their contempt of pain and death. The relatives and friends followed, and on their way joined them in the death dirge. When they arrived in front of the guard, the British flag was laid on a fire, prepared for the occasion and consumed. The murderer then gave up his medal, and both of the prisoners were surrendered.

The Indian Agent,* in a communication to the Department, on Nov. 10, 1820, says; "The old chief I have

*[Maj. LAWRENCE TALIAFERRO, Indian Agent at Fort Snelling from 1819 to 1840, was born in Whitehall, Kings County, Virginia, February 28, 1794. He was descended from an Italian family who lived at Genoa, and came to Virginia in 1637. TALIAFERRO enlisted in the army in 1812, when only 18 years of age and served with credit, being promoted to a lieutenancy. At the close of the war he was retained with rank of 1st Lieut. in the 3rd Regiment. In 1819 he resigned and was commissioned by President Monroe as Indian Agent at "St. Peters, near the Falls of St. Anthony." He at once, repaired to his post, where he served a period of almost twenty-one years, being re-appointed five times by various presidents, and resigning at last. A sketch in the St Paul *Pioneer* says of him: "His was a long incumbency for such an office as that, and showed that Maj. T. was active and faithful in the discharge of his duties, and such he certainly was. While in a position which many have used for their own

detained as a hostage; the murderer I have sent to St. Louis for trial, presuming that it is a course you will approve. I am much indebted to Mr. COLIN CAMPBELL, the interpreter, for his great exertions in bringing this affair to a happy issue. The delivery of the murderer is to be attributed solely to his influence over the Sussitongs."

From the wife of Colonel SNELLING, Mrs. ELLETT obtained some facts illustrative of this period, which are published in the "Pioneer Women of the West."

"In the following summer of 1820, SNELLING * was promoted Colonel of the 5th Regiment, and ordered up the

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aggrandizement, Maj. T. was scrupulously honest. No charge was ever made against him of malversation in office for his own benefit. He labored to impress the tribes under his supervision with a proper respect for the government, and by gratifying their penchant for 'big talks' and ceremonies, kept them in pretty good order and obedience. He was sometimes ridiculed for his egotism, of which he certainly had a good share; but he was careful, correct and methodical in his business matters. With the traders and agents he generally managed to keep up a standing quarrel, however, and his official correspondence with the Department was ponderous, but often related to trivial affairs. During his twenty years incumbency he maintained a wide correspondence with many eminent men in official and military life in the West. Their letters, hundreds in number, he afterwards gave to the Minnesota Historical Society with a quantity of other valuable manuscripts." After his retirement from the Indian Agency he was not in service again until 1857 when he was appointed Military Storekeeper at Bedford, Pa., and retired on half pay in 1863. He died of paralysis on January 23, 1871, aged 78 years. A half breed daughter, the widow of WARREN WOODBURY, resides in West St. Paul. W.]

*[Col. JOSIAH SNELLING was born at Boston, Mass., in 1782. He was commissioned First Lieutenant in the Fourth Infantry in 1808, Regimental Paymaster in April, 1809, and promoted to a Captaincy in June, 1809; breveted Major for gallantry at Brownstown in August, 1812. In April, 1813 he was appointed assistant Inspector General, and in Feb. 1818, commissioned Lieut. Col. of the Fourth Rifles. He served with honor at the battles of Tippecanoe, Maguaga, and Lyons Creek, and other engagements in the war of 1812, and at its close was retained as Lieut. Col. of the Sixth Infantry, being promoted to the Colonelcy of the 5th Infantry, in 1819. In August, 1820, Col. SNELLING took command of the post "Fort St. Anthony," and commenced to erect the present permanent buildings, which were completed in the fall of 1822. In 1824, at Gen. SCOTT'S recommendation, the Fort was named after its builder. Col. SNELLING'S administration of affairs, during the seven years of his command, was marked with ability, prudence and bravery. In 1827 the 5th Regt. was ordered to St. Louis. Col. S. proceeded to Washington on official business. While there he was seized with sudden disease, and died on Aug. 28, aged 45 years. The widow of COL. SNELLING now resides with a married daughter near Cincinnati, O. W.]

Mississippi, to relieve Lieut. Colonel LEAVENWORTH, who was also promoted to another Regiment. He had conducted the 5th Regiment from Detroit to within eight miles of the Falls of St. Anthony. The journey was exceedingly tedious and disagreeable, in a keel boat laboriously propelled by men with long poles placed against their shoulders, along a gangway on each side of the boat. The weather was very warm, and mosquitoes numerous day and night. The cabin was very low, confined and uncomfortable. It was three weeks or more before they arrived at Prairie du Chien, during which time very little sound sleep was obtained by the young mother, from fear of the Indians, the Sac and Fox, the most savage looking and ferocious she had ever seen. They seemed to be very fond of dress, and their faces were painted of all colors; the hair cut close to within an inch of the top of the head, and that decorated with a variety of ribbons and feathers, and often a small looking-glass suspended from the neck. Many of them were certainly great beaux, but they looked hideous, and were terrific objects to a timid woman.

"When the voyaguers arrived at Prairie du Chien, they found Gov. CASS and his party; he held councils with the Indians for the purpose of bringing about a peace between the Sac and Fox tribes, Chippewas and Sioux. Our friends were detained there several weeks by a court-martial, of which Col. SNELLING was President. They had still three hundred miles to go before they reached the encampment of the 5th Regiment, and there were several Indian villages on the route. The magnificent scenery of this river has been often described. Lake Pepin is a beautiful expansion about twenty-four miles in length, and from two to four broad. At length they arrived safe through many fatigues to the end of their journey, and received a hearty welcome from friends they had never seen before, and from Capt.

GOODING and his wife, whom they were again delighted to meet. Their daughter had been married a few days previous to the Adjutant of the regiment.

"Great solicitude was felt to have a temporary garrison erected with such defences as could be then made, before the long and severe winter set in. The traders brought news that the Indians were very insolent, and it was said a white man had been killed on the St. Peter's river. A council was called and the murderers were demanded, hostages being taken from the council until they were delivered. They were confined in the guard room, and narrowly watched. All felt that the little community was exposed and almost at the mercy of an enemy, and great exertions were made to complete the temporary barracks for the winter, with block houses and other defences. Indians meanwhile were collecting in great numbers, and would sometimes show themselves at a distance. The traders in the vicinity often came in, and said the friendly Indians had gone in pursuit of the murderers and no doubt would succeed in taking them; but if they did not, the friends of the hostages would attempt to rescue them. Scouts were accordingly kept out every night, and the troops slept on their arms. For the mother—trembling for her little ones more than herself, no sooner would she close her eyes at night, than she would start, thinking she heard the war whoop of the savages. The wolves too, half-starved, were extremely daring, and if the cook happened to leave a bucket of swill at the back door, they were sure to empty it of its contents.

"As soon as the log barracks were finished, the families moved into them. They were built in four rows, forming a square, a block-house on either side. The Indian hostages were now put in great security. They

were evidently becoming impatient of restraint, and perhaps had doubts as to the result. One morning, as usual, they were taken a short distance into the woods under guard, when suddenly one of them (there were three) started and ran for his life. Those behind set up a yell and the guard fired at him, but he was beyond reach. The others were immediately taken back to the guard house, and an interpreter sent for, who enquired of them if it was a preconcerted plan of the whole; they declared it was not, and that until the fugitive started to run, they were ignorant of his design, and supposed it merely a sudden desire for freedom. They said further, that he would no doubt urge the immediate surrender of the guilty parties, and laughingly said the lad was so fat, from being so well fed, they were surprised to see him run so fast!

"Col. SNELLING and the Indian agent thought it advisable to send the murderers to the agent at St. Louis, as soon as they should be brought in, and before navigation closed. At length they came, conducted by a large number of their own tribe. There were two, but only one was sent to St. Louis, as there was but one white man killed. It was represented to the Indians in council, that when one white man killed another, his life paid the penalty; and since one of their people had killed a white man his life must pay the forfeit, unless their great father in Washington should pardon him. The savages signified assent by a "ugh!" As soon as the criminal was gone, quiet was restored among the Indians for the winter.

"In September Mrs. SNELLING's fifth child was born. Her sick room was papered, and carpeted with buffalo robes, and made quite warm and comfortable. There were three ladies beside her in the garrison, and they were like one family, spending their time instructing their children, and receiving instruction in the French language from a soldier,

who, it was said, had been an officer in BONAPARTE'S army. Mrs. SNELLING, Mrs. CLARK and an officer, comprised the class. During the winter, parties of men were sent off to cut down trees, hew timber, &c., for the permanent fort, which was to be built on the high point of land between the mouth of the St Peter's and Mississippi, a point selected by Gen. PIKE, when he explored the river, as a good site for a fort, and on which Col. SNELLING at once decided it should be built. There was a tree standing at the extreme point, with the name of PIKE carved on it by his own hand. Strict orders were given "to spare that tree," for it was looked upon by the officers as sacred to his memory and was carefully guarded, but the care was in vain. One morning it was found cut down, and great was the lamentation. It never was known who had done the deed; there was a mystery about it that was never solved.

"The first row of barracks that were put up, were of hewn logs, the others of stone. The fort was built in a diamond shape, to suit the ground at the extreme point. Where the tree had stood, was a half-moon battery, and inside this was the officers' quarters, a very neat stone building, the front of cut stone; at the opposite point a tower. The fort was enclosed by a high stone wall, and is well represented in the drawings of it.

"At the expiration of two years, the Regiment moved into the fort, although not completed. The families of the officers occupied quarters in the row assigned to them. It was just before this time that Mrs. SNELLING lost her youngest child—thirteen months old.*

"In June, 1823, the first steamboat made its appearance at the fort† much to the astonishment of the savages, who

* The grave stone that marks its earthly remains is still in existence in the graveyard at the Fort.

†[A very interesting sketch of this incident is given in Vol. 3d of the Minn. Historical Collections, page 103, by Mrs. VAN CLEVE, who, with her mother Mrs. CLARK, are probably the only white persons living who witnessed it. W.]

placed their hands over their mouths—their usual way of expressing astonishment, and called it a "fire-boat." A salute was fired from the Fort, as it was expected that the Inspector General was on board; and it was returned from the boat. The Indians knew not what to make of it, and they were greatly alarmed, until all was explained. Additions were made to the society of the garrison; several officers, who had been absent, returned to their regiment, bringing wives and sisters, so that at one time the company numbered ten ladies. There were six companies, which fully officered, would have given eighteen or twenty officers, but there were seldom or never that number present at one time.

"An Italian gentleman came on the boat, who professed to be traveling for the purpose of writing a book, and brought letters of introduction from Mrs. SNELLING'S friends in St. Louis. The Colonel invited him to his house to remain as long as he pleased and he was with them several months. He could not speak English, but spoke French fluently, and seemed much pleased when he found his fair hostess could speak the language, she having learned it when a child at St. Louis. A French school was the first she ever attended, and she thus early acquired a perfectly correct pronunciation. She lamented on one occasion to Mr. BELTRAMI, that her teacher had received his discharge, and was about leaving, and he politely offered his services in that capacity. She was then translating the life of Cæsar in an abridged form, and from the emotion betrayed by the foreigner at a portion of the reading, it was concluded he had been banished from the Pope's dominions at Rome, and that the lesson reminded him of his misfortunes. The passport he showed, gave him the title of "Le Chevalier Count BELTRAMI.

"About this time, Major LONG'S expedition arrived to explore the St. Peter's River, and when they left, BELTRAMI

accompanied them. When his book was published at New Orleans, he sent Mrs. SNELLING a copy. When at the fort he was busy in collecting Indian curiosities. One day he brought a Sioux chief into Mrs. SNELLING's room, who had on his neck a necklace of bear's claws highly polished, saying, 'I cannot tempt this chief to part with his necklace; pray see what you can do with him; he will not refuse you.' 'He wears it,' answered the lady, 'as a trophy of his powers, and a badge of honor; however, I will try.' After some time, WANATA* said, 'On one condition I will consent: if you will cut off your hair, braid it, and let it take the place of mine, you may have the necklace.' All laughed heartily at the contrivance to get rid of further importunity.

"One day a call was heard from a sentinel on the river bank, to the corporal of the guard, that a child had fallen into the river, and several ran in the direction the sentinel pointed. The gardener, who was at work a short distance, cried out, "It is the Colonel's son, HENRY! Save him!" His mother heard the cry, "A child is drowning!" and ran out upon the battery to see and hear what was the matter. She saw them draw the boy out, place him on a blanket, and hasten up the hill; they approached her house, when the Colonel hastened towards her saying, "we came near losing our child!" and she saw it was indeed her own. He was pale as death, but soon recovered, and lives to tell the story of an immense catfish dragging him into the river while fishing.

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*[WANATA, or WANOTAN, "The Charger," was the most distinguished chief of the Yankton Tribe of Dakotas. He was born about 1795, and at an early age acquired great renown as a warrior. He fought the Americans in the war of 1812, and was wounded. KEATING, in his narrative of Maj. LONG's expedition, met WANATA in 1823, and gives a long account of him, and a copper-plate portrait, in which he wears probably the same necklace of bear's claws as is mentioned by Mrs. ELLETT. In MCKENNEY & HALL'S splendid work on the North American Indians, published in 1837, a portrait and sketch of WANATA is also given. The chief died a few years subsequent to that date. W.]

"In 1823, news was brought by the traders that two white children were with a party of Sioux, on the St. Peter's. It appeared from what they could learn, that a family from Red River—Selkirk's settlement—had been on their way to the fort, when a war party of Sioux met them, murdered the parents and an infant, and made the boys prisoners. Col. SNELLING sent an officer with a party of soldiers to rescue the children. After some delay in the ransom, they were finally brought. An old squaw, who had the youngest, was very unwilling to give him up, and indeed the child did not wish to leave her. The oldest, about eight years old, said his name was JOHN TULLY, and his brother, five years old, ABRAHAM. His mother had an infant, but he saw the Indians dash its brains out against a tree, then killed his father and mother. Because he cried they took him by his hair, and cut a small piece from his head, which was a running sore when he was re-taken. Col. SNELLING took JOHN into his family, Major CLARK the other, but he was afterwards sent to an orphan asylum in New York. The eldest died of lockjaw, occasioned by a cut in the ankle while using an axe.

"During this year, the commandant was visited by Gen SCOTT and suit, and the fort was completed. Heretofore it had been called Fort St. Anthony, but Gen. SCOTT issued an order giving it the name of Fort Snelling. He expressed his approbation of the construction and site of the fort, etc., spent a week with his friends, and visited the Falls and a chain of lakes where they were used to amuse themselves fishing, and where the water was so clear they could see the fish playing about the hook. One of the lakes Mrs. SNELLING named Scott Lake.

"Another of her amusements was riding on horse back. When a child she had been accustomed to ride every morning with her father, and acquired great confidence in the

management of a horse. Her husband seldom would ride with her, but Captain MARTIN SCOTT* was in the regiment, and often accompanied her. One day they saw a wolf, the dogs gave chase, and they followed until they ran down the poor creature, the bonnet of the fair huntress having fallen back, and her streaming loose in the wind.

"In 1825, the family left Fort Snelling to visit their friends in Detroit. It was late in the season, October, before they set out homeward, by the way of Green Bay, where Mrs. SNELLING'S brother, Lieut. WELLINGTON HUNT, was stationed. They spent a week in his family, and when they reached Lake Pepin, the ice was running so rapidly they were compelled to stop; the ice had cut through the cabin so that it leaked. A small log cabin was put up, and an express sent to the Fort, one hundred miles, for sleighs to convey them thither, and provisions, as they had nothing but corn, which they boiled in ash water with a little salt. Fears were entertained by Col. SNELLING that the express might not reach the Fort, and another was sent a week after. One day, after two weeks, there was a sound of sleigh bells, and HENRY, who was the first to hear, ran to meet them, and soon returned with two loaves of bread, which he threw into his mother's lap, crying, "eat, mother, eat." The children ate bread as if famished, and even the little MARION, but eight months old, partook of the general joy. They had seen no Indians, who had gone to their winter grounds. Some of the officers came to meet the

*[CAPTAIN MARTIN SCOTT was born in Bennington, Vt., June 17, 1788. He served in the war of 1812, and in 1814 was commissioned 2d Lieut. in the 26th Rifles. At the close of the war he was commissioned in the Regular Army and in 1831 was made a Captain in the Fifth Regiment. He was a man of great daring and personal bravery, but of limited education. His principal reputation, perhaps, was that of a hunter and marksman, which gave rise to the story of "Capt. SCOTT'S coon." The stories of his skill and prowess as a sportsman are almost incredible. He was widely known to the early settlers throughout what is now Wisconsin and Minnesota, having served at various frontier posts. He fell at the battle of Palo Alto, Sept. 8, 1847, at which time he held the rank of Lt. Col. of the 5th Regt. W.]

Colonel's family, and they were soon on the move again. They were welcomed back joyfully by all their friends, and many of their favorite Indians came to see them. One poor savage, who always furnished them with game, came leaning on his staff, looking pale and emaciated; he was very sick, he said, and came to see them once more before he died. He could scarcely crawl back to his lodge, and the next day he expired.

"At this time, a party of the Chippewas and Sioux held a council with the Indian agent. There had been war between the two nations for a long time; the agent desired to act as mediator between them, and sent for them to meet him. After the council, the two parties smoked the pipe of peace. The Chippewas killed a dog, made a feast, and invited the Sioux to their lodges, which were under the guns of the Fort. In the evening, about nine o'clock, the firing of guns was heard; the sentinel called "corporal of the guard," repeatedly, in quick succession. The wild cries of women and children were heard, for the Chippewas had their families with them, and several Indians came rushing into the hall of the commanding officer, trying to tell what was the matter. The officer of the day reported that the Sioux, after partaking of the hospitalities of the Chippewas, and being apparently goods friends, had some of them returned, placed their guns under the wigwams, and fired, killing some and wounding others. The wounded were conveyed into the hospital to have their wounds dressed. Other particulars of this occurrence, with the determination of the Chippewas to have vengeance, the action of the commanding officer, and the surrender and punishment of the perpetrators of the deed, are related in another article. The traders said the Sioux were perfectly satisfied, much more so than if the offenders had been imprisoned and sent to St. Louis.

"In 1826, Capt. THOMAS HUNT, who was residing at Washington, wrote to his sister, urging her and the Colonel to send their two eldest children to him to be educated. Their daughter MARY was now fourteen, and as Captain PLYMPTON* and his wife were going, her parents got her in readiness to accompany them. Her mother thought not it would cost so many tears to part with her child; but when she returned home from the boat she told Mrs. CLARK 'it seemed like a death in the family.' Soon an opportunity offered, and they sent HENRY also.

"In 1827, the Indians began to show signs of hostility near Prairie du Chien; they murdered two white men and a young girl, the daughter of one of them, and attacked two boats with supplies for Fort Snelling, killing and wounding several of the crew. Col. SNELLING ordered out as many of his command as could be spared from the Fort, and with his officers descended the river to the relief of Fort Crawford, or to attack any hostile force of Indians he might meet. There were two large villages of Indians between the two Forts, and it was expected, when they approached, they would be attacked, but there was not an Indian to be seen. When they reached Prairie du Chien, they ascertained that the outrage had been committed by Winnebagoes and not Sioux. When Gen. ATKINSON heard this at St. Louis, he sent and seized the Chief, RED BIRD, and one or two others, who were tried, convicted and executed. After an absence of six weeks, the party returned without being obliged to fire a gun.

*[Col. JOSEPH PLYMPTON was born at Sudbury, Mass., Feb. 24, 1787. He entered the army in 1812 as a Lieutenant, served through the whole war with credit, and at its close was retained in the service. He was commissioned as Captain in the 5th Infantry in 1821, and served most of the time in the Northwest until 1840, when he was ordered to Florida, and took a conspicuous part in the Seminole war. In 1846, he was commissioned Lt.-Col. of the 7th Regulars, and commanded it through most of the Mexican war. He was breveted Col. for gallantry at Cerro Gordo, &c. After the war he remained in command of his Regiment until 1854, when he returned North on account of feeble health, and died at Stapleton, N. Y., June 5th, 1860. W.]

"In the fall of 1827, the Regiment was ordered to Jefferson Barracks. When the family arrived at St. Louis, they took lodgings for the winter, Col. SNELLING having obtained leave to go to Washington to settle some public accounts and to bring home his daughter. He wrote to her mother in glowing terms of her improvement in person and mind, and that she received much attention for one of her age, not yet sixteen. 'As MARY will not again,' he concluded, 'have so good an opportunity, I have encouraged her to accept invitations to the different soirees; she has had cards for the season from all.' MARY wrote, 'I have attended many parties, but I do not enjoy them, for my dear mother is not with me, and I am so impatient to embrace her.' Alas! the All Wise Disposer of events had ordered it otherwise. One more letter her mother received from her, and hoped before many weeks to see her, but at the time she was expecting her arrival, a letter was written to her sister, Mrs. SOULARD, that MARY was dead!

"Col. SNELLING wrote afterwards, that on the 2nd of February she had been at Mrs. CLAY'S party and danced, and had taken cold while standing to wait for the carriage; the cold terminated in a brain fever. Mrs. ADAMS, the wife of the President, showed great interest in the young stranger, as did many others, and every attention was paid her that could be desired; but there was no solace for the deep wound in the mother's heart. Her husband wrote that he should be obliged to remain still longer in Washington; it would improve her health to travel, and she must join him without delay. In May, she left St. Louis with her three children and nurse, found her husband and son well, the latter much grown, and received a cordial welcome from her brother and sister-in-law.

"Her cup of affliction was not yet full; in two months her

husband was seized with inflammation of the brain and died in three weeks. In communicating the sad event to the army, the General-in-Chief thought it but an act of justice to make a public acknowledgment of his services."

ECCLESIASTICAL REMINISCENCES OF FORT SNELLING — FIRST CHURCH IN MINNESOTA.

Before any clergyman entered Minnesota, a Major in the Army, with an experience and zeal in some respects akin to that of the distinguished British officer, Colonel GARDINER, was ordered to Fort Snelling. Though a rigid disciplinarian, he at times invited soldiers and officers to his quarters, and read sermons and essays from a paper called the New York Evangelist, in their presence.

In May, 1835, the Rev. T. S. WILLIAMSON, M. D., arrived at the Fort with assistants, for the purpose of commencing the first Missionary operations among the Dakotas. At the request of those at the garrison, and in the vicinity, a church was formed.*

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* Among the original members, was a young Lieutenant, who was one of the first to prepare a vocabulary of the Dakota language. His decease has lately occurred,[1856] and from a New York paper we extract the following:

Major EDMUND A. OGDEN, of the United States Army, who recently died of cholera at Fort Riley, Kansas Territory, was born at Catskill, N. Y., Feb. 20th, 1810. Soon after, he removed to Unadilla, N. Y., where he remained until he entered the United States Military Academy. On graduating, he was attached as Brevet Second Lieut. to the First Regiment of Infantry, then stationed at Prairie du Chien. He was subsequently appointed a First Lieutenant in the Eighth Infantry, where he served until appointed a Captain in the Quartermaster's Department, in which corps he remained until his death. He served with credit and distinction through the Black Hawk, Florida, and Mexican wars, and was created a Major by brevet, for meritorious conduct, in the last named of these wars.

His services ever faithfully performed, have been arduous and responsible. He has disbursed for the Government millions of the public money; he has labored hard, and always to the purpose, and after giving to his country five and twenty years of hard and useful service, he has died poor, leaving a wife and six young children.

For the last six years previous to last spring, Major OGDEN was stationed at Fort Leavenworth, where he has rendered important service to the army in his capacity of Quartermaster. He was afterwards charged with the arduous duty of erecting, within

On one Sabbath in June, miles from the sound of the church going bell, there convened in one of the company rooms of the fort, some twenty whites, consisting of military officers, Indian missionaries, and those engaged in Indian trade. Their names being called, in the presence of the assembled soldiers, the company stood up, entered into church covenant, and elected Elders, who were set apart, in accordance with the solemn ordination service of the Presbyterian branch of the church.

After the close of the afternoon sermon, the Rev. Dr. WILLIAMSON administered the communion.

The church continued to worship at intervals in the Fort, till December, 1849, when it was divided, for the convenience of the members, into the church of Kaposia, there being a mission station at the Indian village of that name, and the church of Oak Grove. The Rev. GIDEON H. POND was elected the pastor of the latter, and still continues.

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three months, barracks, quarters and stables for a Regiment of troops at Fort Riley —a point about 150 miles west of Leavenworth, and which he had himself selected as a suitable place for a government post, when stationed at Fort Leavenworth. This place was not settled, and was an almost perfect wilderness. He took with him about five hundred mechanics and laborers, with tools and provisions, and commenced his labors. In a new and unsettled country, so destitute of resources, many obstacles were encountered, but just as they were being overcome, and the buildings were progressing, cholera in its most fatal and frightful form made its appearance among the men, from two to four of them dying every day. Far removed from homes and kindred, and accustomed to depend on Major OGDEN for the supply of their daily wants; they turned to him in despair for relief from the pestilence. He labored among them night and day, nursing the sick and offering consolation to the dying. At last the heavy hand of death was laid upon him, and worn out with care, watching and untiring labors, he fell a victim to the disease whose ravages he had in vain attempted to stay.

In the death of this officer the army has lost one who was an ornament to its list, his own corps has lost one of its most efficient members—one whom they appreciated and whom they delighted to praise.

RUNNING THE GANTLET.

A THRILLING INCIDENT OF EARLY DAYS AT FORT SNELLING.*

Perhaps some of our readers may have seen CARVER or SCHOOLCRAFT'S Travels. If they have, it may be that they know, albeit neither of the books is worth a brass pin as authority, that the Chippewa and Dakota tribes have waged war against each other so long that the origin of their hostility is beyond the ken of man. General PIKE persuaded them to make peace in 1805, but it lasted only till his back was turned. The agents for the government have brought

*[The above very interesting and graphic article, originally appeared in an eastern periodical a number of years ago, and was copied by others quite extensively. It was anonymous, but in its style bears conclusive evidence that its author was WM. J. SNELLING, (son of Col. JOSIAH SNELLING). Those who are familiar with his writings need no other proof. Moreover, it must have been written by some one who was an eye-witness of the incidents, which Mr. S. was—and one of the very few spectators capable of so graphically describing it.

JOSEPH, (or as, for some reason, he usually wrote himself) WM. J. SNELLING, was a son of Col. JOSIAH SNELLING by his first wife. He was born in Boston, Dec. 26, 1804; spent some time at West Point, and when his father took command of Fort St. Anthony he repaired to that post, where he lived seven years. He mixed constantly with the Dakotas, "living in their lodges" as he says, "sharing their food and blankets," thus acquiring a very perfect knowledge of their habits, language, religion and legends, as his subsequent writings show. He acted as a guide and interpreter for Maj. LONG'S expedition in 1823, when he was only 19 years old. After leaving the frontier he went to Boston, and led a literary life, contributing to periodicals and newspapers. In 1830 he published an interesting work entitled "Tales of the North West; or, Sketches of Indian Life and Character." This valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Dakotas was also anonymous, and is now rare. Mr. SNELLING died in 1848, his latter years impaired by his addiction to an unfortunate vice which alone prevented him from attaining the fame as an author that his real genius warranted.

—In vol. 3, Minn. Historical Collections, p. 76. MRS. VAN CLEVE, an eye-witness of the tragic events described in this article, has also given a very interesting account of the same, in some portions with more circumstantiality than Mr. SNELLING.—W.]

about several treaties between the tribes, in which forgiveness and friendship for the future, were solemnly promised. Indian hereditary hate is stronger than Indian faith, and these bargains were always violated as soon as opportunity occurred. Nevertheless, our Executive gave orders, in 1825, that a general congress of all the belligerent tribes on the frontier should be held at Prairie du Chien. They flocked to the treaty ground from all quarters, to see the sovereignty or majesty (we know not which is the better word) of the United States, ably represented by Governors CASS and CLARK, who acted as Commissioners.

The policy of the United States on this occasion was founded on an error. It supposed that the quarrels of the Indians were occasioned by a dispute concerning the boundaries of their respective territories. Never was a treaty followed by more unhappy results, at least as far as it concerned the Dakotas.

They concurred in the arrangement of their boundaries proposed by the Commissioners, as they do in every measure proposed by an American officer, thinking that compulsion would otherwise be used. But they were not satisfied, nor had they reason to be, for their ancient limits were grievously abridged. All the Indians present had, or imagined they had, another cause of complaint. They had been supplied with food, while the congress lasted, by the United States, as was the reasonable practice, for they cannot hunt and make treaties at one and the same time. Dysentery supervened on the change of diet. Some died on the ground, and a great many perished on the way from Prairie du Chien to their hunting grounds. Always suspicious of the whites, they supposed that their food had been poisoned; the arguments of their traders could not convince them of the contrary, and hundreds will die in that belief.

Moreover, they did not receive such presents as the British agents had been wont to bestow on them, and they complained that such stinginess was beneath the dignity of a great people, and that it also showed a manifest disregard of their necessities. They were especially indignant at being stinted in whiskey. It behooved the Commissioners, indeed, to avoid the appearance of effecting any measure by bribery, but the barbarians did not view the matter in that light. To show them that the liquor was not withheld on account of its value, two barrels were brought upon the ground. Each dusky countenance was instantly illuminated with joy at the agreeable prospect, but they were to learn that there is sometimes a "slip between the cup and the lip." Each lower jaw dropped at least six inches when one of the Commissioners staved in the heads of the casks with an ax. "It was a great pity," said old WAKHPAKOOTAY, speaking of the occurrence, "it was a great pity! There was enough to have kept me drunk all the days of my life." WAKHPAKOOTAY'S only feelings were grief and astonishment, but most of his fellows thought that this making a promise to the eye in order to break it to the sense was a grievous insult, and so they continue to regard it to this day.

The next year, a small party of Chippewas came to St. Peters, (about which there are four Dakota villages,) on pretence of business with "their father," the agent, (Maj. TALIAFERRO,) but in reality to beg ammunition, clothing, and, above all, strong drink. The Dakotas soon gathered about the place with frowns on their faces and guns in their hands. Nevertheless, three of the Chippewas ventured to visit the Columbian Fur Company's trading house, two miles from the Fort. While there, they became aware of their danger, and desired two of the white men attached to the establishment to accompany them back, thinking that their presence might be some protection. They were in

error. As they passed a little copse, three Dakotas sprung from behind a log with the speed of light, fired their pieces into the face of the foremost, and then fled. The guns must have been double loaded, for the man's head was literally blown from his shoulders, and his white companions were spattered with his brains and blood. The survivors gained the Fort without further molestation. Their comrade was buried on the spot where he fell. A staff was set up on his grave, which became a landmark, and received the name of "The Murder Pole." The murderers boasted of their achievement and with impunity. They and their tribe thought they had struck a fair blow on their ancient enemies, in a becoming manner. It was only said that TOOPUNKAH ZEZE of the village of the *Batture aux Fievres*, and two others, had each acquired a right to wear skunk skins on their heels and war-eagles' feathers on their heads.

A winter passed, and the murdered man was not revenged. * * * In the following autumn, another party of Chippewas came to St. Peter's and as they remembered what had happened the year before, they took care to arrive just at day-break, and proceeded directly to the fort. There were twenty-four persons in the band, eight of whom were warriors; the rest were women and children. The chief was KWEEWEEZAIZHISH, or the FLAT MOUTH, the great man of the Sandy Lake Chippewas. He led his little troop straight to the fort, where he unfurled and planted an American flag, and then demanded an interview with the agent and commanding officer.

The Dakotas soon learned what was passing, and by the time the gates were opened, a considerable number of them had assembled to gaze upon the enemy. Presently the officers came forth, and desired the visitors to enter. "Be not angry, father," replied the FLAT MOUTH, "but I would rather say something here, before I enter your

wigwam or eat your bread. I desire that these Nahtooessies (enemies) should hear it."

The Colonel (SNELLING) sent for the Chippewa interpreter, and when he had come desired the chief to say on.

"Father," said the chief, "you know that more than a year since, we made peace with your Nahtooessie children, because you desired us. We have kept the peace and listened to your advice, as we always do, for our American fathers are wise men, and advise us for our good. These men know whether they have done so or not. I speak with a sick heart. We are but few here, and these men will not keep the peace with us. We ask you to protect us, as we would protect you, if you should come into our country."

The Colonel replied that he could have no concern with the quarrels of the Dakotas and Chippewas. If they fought anywhere else, he could not help it; but while they remained under his flag they should not be molested, provided they did not molest others. He bade them pitch their lodges on a spot within musket shot of the walls, and there, he said and thought, they would be safe. He would make their cause his own if any harm should come to them *there*. This speech being expounded to the Dakotas, they all exclaimed "HACHEE! HACHEE! HACHETOO!"—that is it! that is right!

The FLAT MOUTH then entered the Fort and partook of American hospitality. He then explained the object of his visit. It was the old story, repeated the thousandth time. They were very poor; they had left their friends at home with heavy hearts, and hoped that their father would give them something to make them glad. In short, the endless catalogue of Indian wants was summed by a humble petition for a little of their father's milk (whiskey) "to make them cry" for certain friends they

had lost. This shameless beggary should not be taken as proof of want of spirit. The main point in their political code is equality of property; he that has two shirts thinks it a duty to give one to him who has none. He who has none thinks it no shame to ask one of him who has two. The effect of this system is, that they are always in want of everything, and the application of their own principle of action to their white neighbors makes their company excessively troublesome. It is true that they are willing to reciprocate, as far as lies in their power, but then they never have anything to give.

On the occasion in question, our Chippewa friends got, if not all they asked, yet more than they had expected. Then, after having entered the garrison with the Buffalo dance, they left the Fort, and set up their lodges as they had been directed.

In the afternoon TOOPUNKAH ZEZE arrived from the *Batture aux Fievres*, with seven of his own band and one other. They went directly to the Chippewa camp and entered the largest lodge, where it happened that there were just nine persons. The young Dakota above named held in his hand a pipe, the stem of which was gaily ornamented with porcupine's quills and hair stained red. The Chippewas spread skins for his party, shook hands with them, invited them courteously to be seated. They also directed the women instantly to prepare a feast of venison, corn and maple sugar, all of which articles were mixed together and placed before the Dakotas in brimming bowls. When the entertainment was over, TOOPUNKAH ZEZE filled the peace-pipe he had brought and passed it round. None rejected it, and all might, therefore, consider themselves pledged to peace, if not to love. The conversation then became general and amicable. The Chippewa women coquetted with the

Dakota youths, who seemed in no wise to consider them as enemies.

No Dakota is suffered to wear a war eagle's feather in his hair till he has killed his man. TOOPUNKAH ZEZE wore one for the Chippewa he had so treacherously slain the year before, as we have already related. One of the fair Chippewas noticed it. "You are young to wear that," said she.

"I shall wear another before I am much older," he replied.

Certainly after so much friendly intercourse and so many demonstrations of good will, no one could have suspected any sinister purpose. The Chippewas, too, might have relied on their proximity to the Fort. But "the heart of man is desperately wicked." The Dakotas had shook hands and smoked the pipe of peace with their former foes, had eaten of their fat and drank of their *strong*. At last, at sunset, they took their guns and rose to depart. The eight foremost halted outside the door, while the last held it aside with his foot, and all discharged their guns into the lodge, excepting one, whose piece missed fire. The assassins gave the Indian *cri de joi*, and fled like deer.

The guns were heard in the Fort, and the news soon reached the commanding officer, who immediately ordered an officer* to proceed to the nearest village with an hundred men, and apprehend as many Dakotas as possibly he could. No time was to be lost, for the night was fast coming up the horizon. The Chippewas who were not hurt, joined the party. Circumstances proved favorable to the enterprise; just as the party left the gate, upwards of a hundred armed Dakotas appeared on a low ridge near the Fort. The captain divided his force, and despatched one

*[Mrs. VAN CLEVE says that her father, Capt. NATHAN CLARK, was the officer entrusted with this duty. NEILL so states, also, in his history, page 392. W.]

party round a small wood to take the enemy in the rear, while he advanced upon them in front. The Dakotas kept their ground firmly. Some covered themselves with the scattered scrub oak trees, others laid down in the long grass. Guns were already cocked when the detached party appeared in their rear. Then the Indians gave way. Most escaped, but thirty were taken and speedily conveyed to the Fort, where accommodations were provided for them in the guard-house and the black-hole. The Chippewas, too, removed their lodges into the Fort, and the wounded were carried to the hospital.

Eight balls had been fired into the Chippewa lodge, and every one took effect. The wounds were the most ghastly that we ever saw made by bullets. The party had been lying or reclining, on their mats; for there is no standing in a Chippewa lodge. Consequently the balls passed through their limbs diagonally tearing and cutting more than it is usual for pieces of lead to do, though as ragged as chewing can make them. One woman was killed outright, one man was mortally, and another severely wounded, the latter being shot through both ankle joints and crippled forever.* All the rest were women and children, and more or less severely wounded.

There was weeping and wailing in the Chippewa lodges that night. The noisy lamentations of the women broke the rest of the whole garrison; but no one desired them to be silent, for the rudest soldier there respected the sincerity of their sorrow. Never were Indian knives driven deeper into squaw's flesh in token of grief than on that occasion. The practice of mortifying the body, on the death of friends, seems to be, and to have been common to all rude people. The Jews clothed themselves

*[In Mrs. VAN CLEVE'S account, before referred to, it is stated that a little girl was mortally wounded. W.]

in sack cloth and threw ashes on their heads; ACHILLES refused to wash his face till the funeral rites had been performed over the body of PATROCLUS. Now, the male Chippewas blackened their faces, indeed, but they did not gash their arms. A soldier who spoke their language asked of them why they did not conform to the ancient usage of their nation. "Perhaps we shall have use for our guns to-morrow," replied the LITTLE SOLDIER. "We must lose no blood, though our hearts bleed, for we must be able to see straight over our gun barrels."

The LITTLE SOLDIER was right in his surmise and precaution. At early day dawn the commanding officer visited the wounded Chippewas, and asked them if they could recognize any of their aggressors, in case they should appear before them. They replied eagerly in the affirmative. He then asked them why they had not been more on their guard. "We respected your flag," replied the mortally wounded man, "and thought that our enemies would do the same." The Colonel then asked whether they had given the Dakotas no provocation. "None," said the Chippewa, "but we endured much." He presented the peace-pipe which the Dakotas had brought with them, and said that the hair with which it was ornamented had belonged to a Chippewa head. We know not how he made the discovery, but it is well known to all who have lived on the frontier, that an Indian, on seeing a scalp, can tell, with unerring certainty, to what tribe it belongs.

The wounded men were then, with their own joyful consent, placed on litters and borne to the guard house. The Dakota prisoners were paraded before them and they identified two of the number, as having belonged to the band of assassins.

"I deliver them into your hands," said the Colonel to the Chippewa warriors. "They have deserved death, and you

may inflict it, or not, as you think proper. If you do not, they must be tried by the laws which govern us Americans I have no power to put them to death. You may let them go, if you please ; I wash my hands of the matter." This speech was interpreted faithfully to the Chippewas, but none of them answered. Instead of speaking, they examined the flints and priming of their guns. The LITTLE SOLDIER drew from beneath his robe a few fathoms of cord, cut from an elk skin, and presently secured the two criminals, fastening them together by the elbows. It was observed that he drew his knots rather tighter than it was absolutely necessary; but no one blamed him. The Dakotas were then led forth. As soon as they passed the gate, the Chippewas halted and cocked their guns, for their vengeance was growing impatient.

"You must not shoot them under our walls," said one of the officers.

"I hope you do not expect us to take them very far," replied a Chippewa.

The procession then moved on. One of the Dakotas struck up the death song. The other attempted it, but did not succeed ; his voice sank into a quaver of consternation. The Chippewas led them to a rising ground, about two furlongs from the Fort, there halted, and bade them run for their lives. They were not slow to obey the mandate, and their executioners gave them thirty yards law. At that distance, six guns were discharged at them, and they fell dead. Instantly the prairie rang with the Chippewa *cri de joie*, and the executioners rushed towards the corpses, with their knives bared, yelling like fiends. Twice and thrice did each plunge his weapon into the bodies of the prostrate foes, and then wipe their blades on their face or blanket. One or two displayed a ferocity which those only who saw, can entirely realize. They drew their reeking knives through

their lips, and exclaimed, with a smack, that they had never tasted any thing so good. An enemy's blood was better than even fire water. The whole party then spat upon the body of him who had feared his fate, and spurned it with their feet. They had not tasted *his* blood. It would, they said, have made their hearts weak. To him who had sung his death song, they offered no indignity. On the contrary. they covered him with a new blanket. They then returned to the Fort.

The Colonel met them at the gate. He had prevented all over whom his authority extended from witnessing the scene just described and had done his best to make the execution the exclusive business of the Chippewas. He now told them that the bodies of the slain must not be suffered to remain upon his land, where the spectacle might grieve the Dakotas who were innocent of their crime. The party retired, and proceeded to the slaughter ground. They took the dead Dakotas by the heels, trailed them over the earth to the bluff, and then threw them over a perpendicular precipice a hundred and fifty feet high. The bodies splashed and sunk, and nothing more was ever seen or heard of them.

Among the Dakotas detained in the guard-house was an old man named KHOYA-PA, or the EAGLE'S HEAD. We knew him well—he once cheated us out of a considerable amount of merchandize; but it was in the way of trade, all fair, according to Indian ethics, and we bear him no malice. He had not slept during the night, but had tramped up and down the floor, deeply agitated, to the extreme disturbance of the soldiers. One of those who were put to death, was his nephew. When this young man was designated by the wounded Chippewas as one of the assassins, and led forth to suffer death, his tears flowed; and when he heard the report of the guns which ended him, his emotion became

uncontrollable. He immediately sent for the commanding officer.

"Father," said he, "the band of the *Batture aux Fievres* are bad people. They are always getting themselves into trouble, and others are always sure to suffer with them. It was foolish to shoot the Chippewas last year, but they did it, and perhaps one of my grand-children will be scalped for it. What they have just done was a folly. They persuaded my nephew to join them, and he is dead. Let them take the consequences of their own act themselves, this time. I know where I can find two more of them, and if you will let me out I will bring them to you, and you may put them to death, as they deserve, or spare them—as you please. If you slay them, I shall be glad; if you let them go, I shall be sorry. They ought not to be suffered to bring the whole nation into disgrace and trouble."

"If the Colonel lets him out, I wonder when we shall see him again?" said one of the guards to another.

The Colonel knew the Dakota character better. "How long will it be before you return with the man-slayers?" said he to KHOYA-PA.

"By sunset to-morrow night," replied the EAGLE HEAD, "I will be before your gate, and if I come alone, you may give my body to the Chippewas."

The sun was high in the heavens when the EAGLE HEAD departed, with his gun in his hand and his knife and tomahawk in his belt. It is sixty miles from St. Peter's to the Batture aux Fievres, and he arrived there early the next morning, having slept an hour or two in the woods near the village. He went straight to the lodge of SAGANDOSHEE, or "The Englishman," for so was the father of TOOPUNKAH ZEZE named. The family were already awake, and the murderer was relating his exploit with great glee when KHOYA-PA entered.

"You have acted like a dog," said the old man to TOOPUNKA ZEZE. "So have you," he added, turning to the other assassin. "Some one must die for what you have done, and it will be better that your lives be taken, than that others should die for your folly. There are no worse men than yourselves in our nation. I tell you, you must die. Rise and go with me, like men, or I will kill you like dogs where you sit."

So saying, the old man cocked his gun and drew his tomahawk from his belt. The women began to scream and scold; THE ENGLISHMAN'S brow grew dark, but no opposition was offered. Perhaps the men were afraid to harm the EAGLE HEAD, for though he was not recognized as a chief, his sons and sons-in-law were many, and his influence was considerable. Any one who should have harmed him would have certainly have suffered for it. Besides, his reputation as an upright and valiant man was high; he was tall and erect, and age had not withered his muscles and sinews. Whatever motives might have restrained the families of the criminals from opposing the aged warrior, TOOPUNKAH ZEZE showed no disposition to disobey him. He rose with the utmost alacrity, handed the EAGLE HEAD a rope, and tendered his arms to be tied. When he was secured he requested his father to thrust sharp oaken splinters through the muscular parts of his arms, that the Americans might see that he cared not for pain. "THE ENGLISHMAN"—his father—complied, without uttering a syllable!

The other criminal was pale, trembled, and seemed wholly stupified by terror. However, he submitted passively to be tied. "Now," said the EAGLE HEAD, "start—walk before me, and that briskly, for you must die at the American Fort before sunset, and it is a long distance."

Just before sunset that day, the Colonel and another officer were standing at the gate of the Fort. "It is late," said

the latter, "and our old friend does not show himself yet. I do not think he will. He would certainly be a fool to come back to what he thinks certain danger; for he had nothing to do with the murder."

"If I had kept him," replied the commanding officer, "no good could have come of it. He was innocent, and could not have been convicted, supposing that any of our courts may be competent to try him. I believed that he would keep his word, and bring the real criminals, and I have no doubt about the propriety of the course I shall adopt with them. I trust the EAGLE HEAD yet; and by heaven, he deserves to be trusted! Look! — there he comes, driving the two black sheep before him."

"Indeed, the old man and his prisoners came in sight at that moment. They soon arrived at the gate. "Here they are, father," said the EAGLE HEAD. "Take them, and kill them, and if that is not enough for the safety of my people, take my life too, I throw away my body freely."

The white chief told KHOYA-PA that he was at liberty from that moment, and made him a liberal present, after which the old man withdrew. A hasty council was then held with the Chippewas, to whom the victims were tendered, as the two first had been.

By this time a considerable number of the Dakotas had assembled about the prisoners. "You must die now," said one man. "The white chief has given you to the enemy."

"I know it," replied TOOPUNKAH ZEZE, "and I am ready. I shall fall like a man. Bear witness of it. Here, FALLING LEAF, take my blanket—I shall have no use for it. Take my ear-rings, GRAY WOMAN."

He sat down upon the ground, and, with the aid of others, divested himself of his ornaments and apparel, which he dis-

tributed to those who stood nighest. His dauntless mien and handsome person made the whites, who looked on, sorry for him. He was in the bloom of youth, not above twenty at most, six feet high, and formed after Nature's best model. Stain the BELVIDERE APOLLO with walnut juice, and it will be an exact likeness of TOOPUNKAH ZEZE. He refused to part with the two eagle's feathers. One of them he had not yet worn two days, he said, and he would not part with them. The Chippewas would see that a *warrior* was about to die.

The companion of TOOPUNKAH ZEZE followed his example in giving away his clothing, quite mechanically, it seemed. It was evident, though he did not speak, that he was not equal to the circumstances in which he was placed. He was a villainous looking fellow; such a man, indeed, as a despotic sovereign would hang for his countenance. He had the most hideous hare lip that we ever saw, and was thence called by the Dakotas, THE SPLIT UPPER LIP. He was known to most of the white men present as a notorious thief, a character very uncommon among Indian men, though not among Indian women.

The Chippewa chief, FLAT MOUTH, thus addressed the commanding officer:

"Father, we have lost one life, and it is certain that one more will die of his wounds. We have already taken life for life, and it is all that our customs require. Father, do not think that I do not love our people whose blood has been shed. I would fain kill every one of the Nahtooessie tribe to revenge them, but a wise man should be prudent in his revenge. Father, we Sandy Lake Chippewas are a small, a very small band, and we are ill armed. If we provoke the Nahtooessies too far, they will come to our country in a body, and we are not able to resist them. Father, I am a very little, weak chief. (The varlet spoke

falsely, for he was the biggest and most corpulent Indian we ever saw.) Father, we have already had life for life, and I am satisfied."

Up started the LITTLE SOLDIER, fire in his eye. He was properly named, being a very little man, almost a dwarf. Yet he was thick set, active and muscular, and his spirit was great. Little as he was, he enjoyed the repute of being the bravest and most successful warrior of Sandy Lake. He it was, whose brother had been slain the year before at the "Murder Pole."

"Our father with the FLAT MOUTH, says that he is satisfied," said the LITTLE SOLDIER. "So am not I. We have had life for life, as he says, but I am *not* satisfied. This man, (pointing to TOOPUNKAH ZEZE,) shot my brother last year, and the sun has not yet set twice since he shot my wife also. This other aided him. They deserve to die, and they shall die. Hoh!" he added to the prisoners, signifying that they must march.

TOOPUNKAH ZEZE sprang to his feet and began to sing his death song. It was something like the following, many times repeated :—

I must die, I must die,
But willingly I fall.
They can take from me but one life;
But I have taken two from them.
Two for one, two for one, two for one, &c.

The SPLIT LIP was wholly unable to imitate his brave companion. He burst into tears, and piteously implored the commanding officer to spare his life. He did not deserve to die, he said, for he was not guilty. He had killed no one—his gun had missed fire.

Here TOOPUNKAH ZEZE ceased singing, and indignantly interrupted him. "You lie, dog. Coward, old woman, you know that you lie. You know that you are as guilty as I am. Hold your peace, and die like a man—die like

me." Then, turning his face away with an expression of exceeding contempt, he recommenced—

Two for one, two for one—

and strode forward, dragging the SPLIT LIP after him.

Arriving at the place of execution, the Chippewas gave them law, and fired. The SPLIT LIP was shot dead on the spot. TOOPUNKAH ZEZE was also stricken through the body, but did not fall. One bullet had cut the rope which bound him to his companion, and he instantly started forward with as good speed as if he had been wholly unhurt. A shout of joy arose from a neighboring copse, where a few Dakotas had hidden themselves to witness the spectacle. Their joy was of short duration. The LITTLE SOLDIER'S gun had missed fire, but he picked his flint and leveled again. TOOPUNKAH ZEZE had gotten a hundred and fifty yards from his foes, when the second bullet struck and killed him instantly.

After this catastrophe, all the Dakotas quitted the vicinity of Fort Snelling, and did not return to it for some months. It was said that they formed a conspiracy, to demand a council, and kill the Indian Agent and the commanding officer. If this was a fact, they had no opportunity, or wanted the spirit to execute their purpose.

The FLAT MOUTH'S band lingered in the Fort till their wounded comrade died. He was sensible of his condition, and bore his pain with great fortitude. When he felt his end approach, he desired that his horse might be gaily caparisoned, and brought to the hospital window, so that he might touch the animal. He then took from his medicine bag a large cake of maple sugar and held it forth. It may seem strange, but it is true, that the beast eat it from his hand. His features were radiant with delight as he fell back on the pillow exhausted. His horse had eaten the sugar, he said, and he was sure of a favorable reception,

and comfortable quarters in the other world. Half an hour after, he breathed his last. We tried to discover the details of his superstition, but could not succeed. It is a subject on which Indians unwillingly discourse.

For a short time after the execution of TOOPUNKAH ZEZE and his accomplices, the Indian country remained quiet. The Dakotas avoided all intercourse with the whites. They were angry at the death of their fellows, indeed, and spoke of vengeance among themselves; but they either were convinced of the justice of what had been done, or knew the superior force of the whites too well to think of taking any active measures.

REMINISCENCES; HISTORICAL AND PERSONAL.

ANNUAL ADDRESS, BY HON. H. H. SIBLEY, FEB. 1ST, 1856.

In the note from the Secretary of this Society, inviting me to deliver the Annual Address, there was contained an intimation that the state of the country now comprised within our territorial limits, from the year 1819, when a Military Post was first established at the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers, until 1849, when Congress gave to Minnesota a distinct existence and a name, would be an appropriate subject. I have acted upon that suggestion in part only; not having confined myself to the particular period referred to, nor have I attempted anything like a continuous narrative of events. On the contrary, I have picked up a waif here and there, as furnished from memory, or otherwise brought within my reach, and I have enunciated some opinions of my own, which will be found not to accord with those generally entertained by the community at large.

ANTE-HISTORIC PERIOD.

While reviewing what is usually termed the early history of Minnesota—which has reference to a time subsequent to its discovery by white men—the mind is naturally led to speculate upon the condition of things as they existed at a much more remote period, and before the present race of red men acquired possession of this country. That the

entire West was inhabited by a more civilized people than the Indians, we do not learn from tradition, nor have we the testimonials even of rude hieroglyphics, which may be deciphered sooner or later by the antiquarian. Nevertheless, there is other evidence of the fact, of an indisputable character. In the bowels of the earth there have been sought for and found, the relics of a past age. Earthen vessels of convenient form—weapons and implements of labor made from copper—other articles never fashioned by Indian hands—together with the proofs of mechanical skill in the copper mines of Lake Superior lately discovered, where masses of that metal of many tons weight have been raised from their beds, and wooden supports introduced beneath them with a view to their removal—these are a few of the evidences which satisfy us of the existence of a race long since, in the region now occupied by us, who were far superior to the Indian tribes, but whose fate is left entirely to conjecture.

Fancy may picture to us communities of simple and industrious people, unwarlike in their character, happy in the possession of a fertile and beautiful country, and blessed with all the comforts of life, suddenly and successfully invaded, overwhelmed and exterminated by hordes of merciless savages, leaving behind them no other traces of their history than are afforded by a few specimens of their ingenuity in the mechanic arts. The mystery which envelops their fate will never be penetrated unless indeed there should be discovered, at a future day, some record which has hitherto baffled the diligent search of the historian.

THE INDIAN CHARACTER.

The character of the wild race who succeeded them in the possession of the Mississippi Valley is well portrayed by ALISON in his partial, but eloquent, "History of Europe."

He describes the North American Indian as "neither the child of JAPHET, daring, industrious, indefatigable, exploring the world by his enterprise and subduing it by his exertions; nor the offspring of ISHMAEL, sober, ardent, enduring, traversing the desert on his steed, and issuing forth at appointed intervals from his solitudes to punish and regenerate mankind. He is the hunter of the forest: skilled to perfection in the craft necessary for that primitive occupation, but incapable of advancing beyond it. Civilization in vain endeavored to throw its silken fetters over his limbs; he avoids the smiling plantation, and flies in horror before the advancing hatchet of the woodman. He does well to shun the approach of the European race; he can neither endure its fatigues, nor withstand its temptations; and faster than before the sword and the bayonet his race is melting under the fire-water, the first gift, and last curse of civilization."

TRIBAL CONDITION OF THE INDIANS.

It is not my intention to expatiate at length upon this topic, but in the Annual Address of your Society, a passing glance may be permitted, at the tribal condition of that people who have so long roamed through our forests and our prairies, and who are now disappearing under the operation of the same influences which long since swept their Eastern brethren from the earth.

The subdivisions of the respective Dakotas and Algonquin stocks have been opposed to each other for centuries. Tradition, as well as the testimony of the early writers upon this country, informs us that active hostilities have existed between them from time immemorial, except when occasional temporary truce has been agreed upon by the parties. Sometimes it has happened that some of the offshoots from the parent stem have combined with its ene-

mies against it. Thus the Assineboines, a revolted tribe of the Dakotas, have allied themselves with the Chippewas against them. On the other hand, the Sacs and Foxes, of Algonquin extraction, were formerly on such friendly terms with the Dakotas that with them they made furious war upon the Chippewas. These were, however, but signal exceptions to the general rule. Not one whit more bitter was the hate of HAMILCAR to the Roman name, when he compelled his son HANNIBAL to swear eternal hostility to it upon the altar, than is that which is harbored by Dakota against Chippewa, and Chippewa against Dakota even to this day.

From the information we can gather of the number of Indians in the country now known as Minnesota, it is not probable that it has undergone any serious increase or dimunition for a century or more, until within the last few years. The natural increase has about kept pace with the deaths from disease, which, in a healthy land like this, could never have been great, while the lives lost in battle were fewer in number than has been generally supposed. The wars between the Indian tribes are not of a sanguinary character, which distinguish those waged between European nations. Occasionally, and at long intervals, an entire camp, taken at disadvantage, has been destroyed. Judging from my own observation, and from statistics of a reliable nature, I am convinced that the lives sacrificed in the petty contests between the Dakotas and Chippewas have not amounted, in the aggregate, to an annual average of fifty, for the past century. The partisan who leads an expedition against an enemy is exceedingly careful of the lives of his men, for his reputation as a medicine-man or prophet, and his influence as a leader, depend entirely upon the amount of injury he can inflict upon the foe without any corresponding sacrifice on his own side Again, a war

party, whether large or small, almost invariably retrace their steps after taking one or more scalps at the first onset. They seek to strike no second blow, unless urged forward by the pressure of some peculiar and extreme exasperation.

RELIGION OF THE DAKOTAS.

The religion of the Dakotas is a mere myth. It has been often asserted that the Indian race are monotheists, and therefore far in advance of other pagans who believe in a multiplicity of deities; that they look forward also to a future state and to its retributions. I regret to be obliged to express an opinion on this subject, which must conflict with such favorable impressions. The belief attributed to the Eastern tribes, of happy hunting grounds for the good, and wastes devoid of game for the bad, in another sphere of existence, finds no response in the breast of a Dakota. He seeks to propitiate what he calls the Great Spirit, and a multitude of minor spirits, especially those embodied in oval shaped stones, by sacrifices of tobacco and other trifling articles, not because he hopes or cares for a reward in a higher state of being, but because he deprecates the visitations of their anger upon earth, in the form of disease, accident or death to himself or his family. I have no reason to believe that any Dakota, among the very many with whom I have conversed on the subject, was ever deterred from the commission of a crime by a fear of punishment in another world, nor have I been able to satisfy myself that their impressions of a future state are anything but shadowy, uncertain and unsatisfactory.

DECAY OF THE INDIAN TRIBES.

The decay of the Dakotas in our midst may be dated from the time of their treaty in 1837, by which the U. S.

Government acquired their lands on the East of the Mississippi River. Ceasing gradually to rely upon their own efforts for support, they looked forward with more and more anxiety to the pittance annually doled out to them in money, goods and provisions, until they have become the miserable and dependent creatures frequently seen about your streets. The policy which has been pursued to secure the land of the Indian, and then to offer him no inducement to improve his condition, has been the bane of his race. Recourse to liquor, and other evil habits, are but the natural consequences of that system which drives him from his home, interferes with his habits of life, and regards him as an outcast from the land of his fathers, without holding out to him any promise for the future.

INDIAN TRADERS—THEIR REPUTED, AND THEIR TRUE CHARACTER.

About two hundred years have elapsed since Minnesota was first explored by white men. Two Frenchmen, long before the visit of Father HENNEPIN to the Falls of St. Anthony, had reached the region of lakes lying Westward from Lake Superior. How far they penetrated towards the sources of the Mississippi we know not, as the information we possess, relative to their movements, is very limited. They were Indian traders, the pioneers of that bold and hardy class of men, who, despising the comforts and the seductions of civilized life, have, since that period, explored the recesses of our forests, and the wide expanse of our prairies, and gazed with rapture upon the beauty and magnificence of our lakes, while they have extended the influence of the children of JAPHET, far and wide among the tribes of the Northwest.

Canada was the principal nursery of this class of adventurers, who, fascinated by the unrestrained liberty of action offered by the trade with Indians, and by the novelty

connected with it, entered upon the vocation with great ardor. Stimulated less by a prospect of gain than by the excitement of new scenes, and the hope of new discoveries, the Indian trader was arrested by no difficulties or dangers, discouraged by no fatigue or exposure, from the accomplishments of the object he had in view. Perhaps no body of men have ever been so misunderstood and misrepresented as those of which he formed a component part. To them have been ascribed not only all the evils and outrages that are the accompaniments of extreme frontier life, where law is unfelt and unknown, but they have been charged with fraud and villainy of every conceivable description. The very accusations made against them in many cases contained their own refutation. While nothing was more certain to destroy his hopes of success in trade than a state of active hostilities between the Indians he had dealings with and other bands of savages, he has been a thousand times accused of inciting war between them. Never hesitating a moment to save a captive from violence, at any peril to his own life, or at any sacrifice of his property, he has been denounced as void of all feelings in common with civilized man, and as a mere trafficker in human blood. With too much self respect to contradict charges so absurd and improbable, and with an undue contempt for public opinion, it is not surprising that scarcely a voice has been raised, or a pen wielded in his behalf.

There is an unwritten chapter yet to be contributed to the records of the Northwest, which will place the Indian trader in a proper light before the country, while it will not seek to extenuate either his defects or vices. This is neither the time nor the place for such a production, but it will doubtless be a grateful task, and peculiarly within the province of this Society, to cause the memory of the men, who, of all others, are most intimately identified with the

early history of Minnesota, to be relieved from the weight of obloquy so unjustly heaped upon them.

They were a class of men eminently distinct from all others in their modes of thought and of life, and they cannot, therefore, be justly measured by the standard which obtains in civilized communities.

They were, for the most part, individuals of little or no education, but remarkable for their energy and for fidelity to their engagements. In fact, the whole system of Indian trade was necessarily based upon the personal integrity of the employer and the employed. Generally speaking, the former resided hundreds, or even thousands of miles distant from the place of trade, and he furnished large amounts of merchandize to his agent or clerk, for which he held no security but his plighted faith. With the requisite number of men to perform the labor of transporting his goods and supplies in bark canoes, this trusty individual wended his way, in August or September, to the scene of operations, where he erected his wintering house, furnished his Indians with necessary clothing and ammunition, and despatched them to their hunts. In many cases his principal could obtain no knowledge of his movements until his return in the spring with the fruits of his exchanges. If a clerk, he was then paid the amount of his salary as agreed upon; if trading on his own account, the sum of his peltries was made up, and the difference between that sum and the invoice of goods furnished him added to the wages of his men, which were always paid by the principal, told the story of his profit or his loss. Furs being of no intrinsic value, but entirely subject to the fluctuations of fashion, it often happened that a poor trader, who had succeeded in the collection of an unusual number of one kind or another of the skins of fur-bearing animals, and flattered himself with the hope of having made money by his winter's oper-

ations, had that hope dispelled by finding that prices had gone down to a low figure, and that he had plunged himself into debt. In such cases the sufferer consoled himself with the hope that the next season would show a different result, and he returned to his wintering ground by no means a despondent man.

But while a departure from strict honesty on the part of the principal and clerk, one towards the other, was so rare an occurrence as to be almost unknown, no scruples were felt in taking any advantage of an opponent in trade, whether fair or unfair. There was a state of warfare perpetually existing between rival establishments in the Indian country, except in case of sickness or scarcity of provisions, when hostilities ceased for a time, and the opposite party came to the rescue of those who were in distress, and afforded every assistance possible. Such exhibitions of qualities so contradictory were characteristic of all the old class of Indian traders.

In times of famine or of sickness among the Indians themselves, the trader was to them a ministering angel. No one was sent away unrelieved, so long as his stores lasted. The consequence of such generosity bore its legitimate fruit. The reliance of the savage upon his trader became, in the course of time, almost without limit, and he took no important step without first consulting him. The white man was the confidant of his joys and his sorrows, and his influence was augmented in proportion. That this influence was not often used to accomplish selfish and unworthy purposes, I do not pretend to assert. That it was more frequently employed for the benefit of the Indian and of his race, I most unhesitatingly believe.

As the trader received his goods on credit, at a stipulated price above the cost, either from individual

merchants, or from associations, so he in turn made advances to the Indian hunters, as his knowledge of their characters for honesty and skill in the chase justified him in so doing. The system of credits was adopted more or less generally throughout the Northwest, and has not entirely ceased even at this day, but it must soon come to an end, for civilization, with all its blessings, can afford no substitute for the simple Indian trader of the olden time; who, equally with honest LEATHERSTOCKING, shunned the society of his fellow white men, and above all, despised the whole machinery of the law; and the contact of the Indian with the whites has so far demoralized him as to render it unsafe longer to trust to his honesty.

SKETCHES OF SOME OF THE EARLY TRADERS.

Having indulged in these general remarks, with reference to the Indian traders, I shall proceed to particularize a very few of the class I have described, with whom it was my fortune to become personally acquainted.

JOSEPH RENVILLE was one of these men, and as a memoir of him has heretofore been published in your annals, I will merely mention the fact in connection with him, that he was the first 'stock raiser of Minnesota, for more than twenty-five years ago, at Lac qui Parle, he owned sheep by the hundreds, and cattle by the score.

LOUIS PROVENCALLE was a man of even less education than RENVILLE, but like him, he was gifted with a strong natural intellect. He kept his Indian credit books by hieroglyphics, having a peculiar figure for each article of merchandise, understood only by himself, and in marking down peltries received from the Indians, he drew the form of the animal, the skin of which was to be represented. He had also a mode of indicating the names of his Indian debtors on his

account books peculiar to himself. Fortunately he had mastered the mystery of figures sufficiently well to express by them the amount he wished to designate, and the general correctness of his accounts did not admit of question.

He it is of whom it is truly related, that when threatened by a band of wild Dakotas with the pillage of his goods, he seized a firebrand, and holding it within a few inches of an open keg filled with gunpowder, he declared his determination to blow them, with himself, into the air, if they seized upon a single article. It is hardly necessary to mention that his reckless conduct had the desired effect, for he suffered no further annoyance of a like kind.

Another adventure in which he participated less successfully, I have often heard the recital of from his own lips. In company with one of his own men, he was engaged in a search for an Indian camp, where he had been informed there was a large number of buffalo robes. Fatigued and hungry, they found themselves near a herd of buffalo, and not suspecting that there were Indians near, they shot a cow and brought her to the ground. The report of the guns put the animals to flight, and in a few moments, PROVENCALLE and his companion were assailed by the Indians, knocked down, severely beaten with their bows, and otherwise maltreated. It appeared that the band of which he was in search, were about completing a *cane*, or surround, of the buffalo, the men crawling cautiously to their appointed stations, when the interference of the white men disconcerted all their arrangements, for which the punishment above detailed was summarily inflicted. Nevertheless, the coveted robes were secured, although the old gentleman declared he would not undergo another castigation of the same kind for all the robes in the country.

Mr. PROVENCALLE came to this country before the close of the last century. He died at Mendota in 1850.

JEAN BAPTISTE FARIBAULT is the last survivor of the old traders. He is now more than 80 years of age, and resides at Faribault, in Rice county, with his sons. He is a native of Canada, and removed to this country in 1798, 57 years ago. He enjoyed considerable advantages of education in early youth. His career in this region has been marked with more of adverse fortune than usually occurs, even in the perilous life of an Indian trader. Shortly after the close of the war with Great Britain, he was robbed by the Winnebagoes at Prairie du Chien, of a large stock of goods, for which he never received any remuneration. Some years subsequently he fixed his residence upon PIKE'S Island, near Fort Saint Anthony, (now Snelling,) and had barely established himself in his vocation of trader, when he was forced by the mandate of the Commandant of the Fort to abandon his buildings, and betake himself, with his moveable property, to the bottom land on the East side of the Mississippi, where he erected new tenements. The following spring, the water, which was unusually high, carried off his houses and live stock, he and his family escaping in boats, by means of which he was fortunately enabled to save his goods and furs from destruction. Still undiscouraged, he built a house at the point now known as Mendota, where he resided many years, except during the winter months, when he assumed charge of his trading post at Little Rapids on the Minnesota River.

In 1834 he narrowly escaped death from the knife of a savage Dakota, the blade of which penetrated the cavity of the lungs, and from the effects of which wound he has never entirely recovered. He is emphatically one of the pioneers of Minnesota.

ALEXIS BAILLY, now a resident of Wabasha, is well known as one of the early settlers of the Territory, although not belonging to the same category with those

already mentioned. In 1821 he went to the Red River of the North with FRANCOIS LABOTHE, now a resident of Nicollet county, and two hired men. Mr. BAILLY had in charge a herd of cattle, which were in great demand at the Colony, and commanded high prices. He and his party had several remarkable escapes from war parties of savages, who, on one occasion stole all their horses, seventeen in number. They finally reached their destination without other loss. Mr. BAILLY sold milch cows at the Colony for $100 to $155 each, and other cattle in proportion. Returning from the North, Mr. BAILLY made arrangements with the American Fur Company, whereby he was placed in charge of an extensive district of trade on the Minnesota, Cannon and Des Moines Rivers. He was also at one time connected with the Columbia Fur Company.

JOSEPH R. BROWN has also been engaged in the Indian trade more or less continuously for more than thirty years. He is said to have brought down the first raft of pine lumber that ever descended the St. Croix River. When in the employ of the American Fur Company, at Lac Travers, in 1835, he was shot at, and severely wounded in the shoulder, by a Dakota Indian; and during the winter of the same year, LOUIS PROVENCALLE, Junior, also a clerk, having charge of a trading station on the Couteau de Prairie, was barbarously murdered by one of the same band.

BENJAMIN F. BAKER, ALEXANDER FARIBAULT, JAMES WELLS, NORMAN W. KITTSON, HAZEN MOOERS, PHILANDER PRESCOTT, AUGUSTIN ROCK, JOSEPH LAFRAMBOISE and FRANCOISE LABOTHE were among the prominent Indian traders of the country, when I came into it in 1834. MARTIN MCLEOD, WILLIAM H. FORBES and FRANKLIN STEELE date their arrival in Minnesota in the same year, to-wit: 1837. All of these gentleman are still alive, with the single exception of Mr. BAKER, who died in St. Louis in 1840.

WILLIAM A. AITKIN, ALLAN MORRISON, CLEMENT BEAULIEU and DONALD MCDONALD, were among the few traders with the Chippewas with whom I had an acquaintance. Hon. H. M. RICE, now delegate to Congress, came here for the first time in 1839 or 1840. He went from Fort Snelling to Prairie du Chien after a few months residence, and there engaged in trade with the Winnebago Indians, whom he accompanied to their lands on the Crow Wing River in 1847. He was extensively engaged in the trade with the Chippewas also.

VOYAGE IN MACKINAC BOATS FROM PRAIRIE DU CHIEN TO RED RIVER COLONY.

In 1820, on the 15th day of April, three Mackinac boats, manned with six hands each, laden with 200 bushels of wheat, 100 bushels of oats, and 30 bushels of peas, under the charge of Messrs. GRAHAM & LAIDLAW, left Prairie du Chien for Selkirk's colony on the Red River of the North. They were detained by ice at Lake Pepin, and the crews planted the May-pole thereon. On the third of May, the ice was sufficiently broken up to allow of the passage of the boats through the Lake. The voyage was continued up the Minnesota river to Big Stone Lake, from which a portage was made into Lake Travers, about one and a half miles distant, the boats being drawn across on wooden rollers. Traversing the latter body of water, and descending the Sioux Wood River to the Red River, the party arrived at Pembina in safety, with their charge, on the 3d day of June. Pembina was, at that time, as now, a small hamlet, the rival companies of the North West and of Hudson's Bay, having each a trading post at the confluence of the stream with the Red River, but on opposite sides. The crop at Selkirk's colony having entirely failed the previous year, the grain was much

needed for seed the ensuing season, and of course commanded a high price. The trip performed in these boats is worthy of mention, as it is the only instance of heavy articles being transported the entire distance from Prairie du Chien to the Red River Settlement, with the exception of the portage between Big Stone and Travers Lakes, by water. CHARLES ST. ANTOINE,* who was one of the crew, is now a citizen of Dakota county, and is one of the few survivors of that eventful voyage. The party returned across the plains on foot, as far as Big Stone Lake, from which point they descended to Prairie du Chien, in canoes.

INDIAN TREATIES.

The publications of the Society already contain the particulars of the visit of Lieut. PIKE, to the Upper Mississippi, in 1805-6, which resulted in the acquisition by the government, from the Dakota Bands, of the first tract of land ceded by any Indian tribe within our present territorial limits. Lieut. PIKE was eminently fitted for the delicate task allotted to him by President JEFFERSON. With his small command of twenty men, he penetrated into the midst of the powerful tribes of the Dakota and Chippewa Indians—arrested their hostile movements towards each other—negotiated a treaty of cession with the former —threatened evil disposed tribes and Indians with punishment—tore down the British flag wherever displayed, and elicited the respect and admiration of savages who were entirely under British influence, and who had but a faint knowledge of the power of the American Government. There is little doubt that, but for the impression produced by his visit, there would have been a far more powerful

* [Mr. ST. ANTOINE is still living, near Northfield in this State, and has been in St. Paul within a few months past, apparently hale and good for years more. W.]

demonstration on the part of the Dakotas, than was really made in favor of the British government, in the war of 1812-14, during the continuance of which, PIKE, then elevated to the rank of Brigadier General, lost his life while gloriously leading his army to the capture of Little York.

In 1825, and again in 1830, treaties of pacification were made by the commissioners of the United States, with the Northwestern tribes, at Prairie du Chien. In the last mentioned treaty, the grant to the Dakota half breeds, of the tract of land at Lake Pepin, was made, the settlement of the title to which, is still looked for with so much interest, by the people of the territory generally.

In 1837, Governor DODGE, of Wisconsin, concluded a treaty at Fort Snelling, with the Chippewas, which opened to the enterprise of the white men, the great pine forests of the St. Croix and Chippewa rivers. In the same year, a delegation of Dakotas, being called to Washington city, transferred to the government by treaty, all the lands belonging to that tribe, lying east of the Mississippi river.

In the year 1841, Governor DOTY, of Wisconsin, negotiated treaties on the part of the United States, at Travers des Sioux, Mendota and Wabashaw, for the purchase of about 25,000.000 of acres of the land owned by the Dakotas, on the West of the Mississippi, but the treaties failed of confirmation by the Senate. Nearly the same area was embraced in the treaties made by Messrs. LEA and RAMSEY, in 1851, but as these were negotiated after the organization of the Territory, they do not come within the purview of this address.

THE BUILDING OF FORT SNELLING.

I am not able to state the number of the United States troops, who, under the command of Col. LEAVENWORTH, first

occupied a spot near the mouth of the Minnesota River, in 1819. They erected temporary barracks,—the remains of which are still visible,—on the South side near the present ferry, in which they passed the winter. DANIEL W. HUBBARD was the first man who felled a tree on the camping ground. During the winter of 1819–20, the scurvy broke out in a most malignant form, and raged so violently that, for a few days, garrison duty was suspended, there being barely well men enough in the command to attend to the sick, and to the interment of the dead. So sudden were the attacks, that soldiers in apparent good health when they went to bed, were found dead in the morning. One man who was relieved from his tour of sentinel duty, and stretched himself upon the bench of the guard room, four hours after, when he was called upon to resume his post, was discovered to be lifeless.

Col. LEAVENWORTH made every effort possible to arrest the disease, and he finally succeeded in doing so by administering decoctions of spruce and other vegetable productions, which were obtained by sending parties to the St. Croix and Chippewa Rivers. Vinegar and other antiscorbutics were also procured from Prairie du Chien, but before the remedies could be made available, nearly one-half of the command perished. The fatality caused by the land scurvy is the more unaccountable, as it was, I believe, the sole instance of its appearance in this part of the country. It was doubtless caused by the bad quality of the provisions, especially of the pork, which was spoiled by the villainy of the contractors, or their agents, in drawing the brine from the barrels that contained it, after leaving St. Louis, in order to lighten the load, and causing the barrels to be refilled with river water, before their delivery at the post, to avoid detection. The troops were compelled to live

on this unwholesome fare for two successive seasons, before the fraud was discovered.

In May, 1820, the command removed to Camp Coldwater, below the site of the present St. Louis House, where they remained during the summer, but the following winter was spent in their old quarters. Fort Snelling (then Fort St. Anthony) was being built in the meanwhile, and as rapidly as rooms could be prepared, they were occupied by the troops, but the whole number could not be accommodated until 1824, when the work was finally completed. A large portion of the lumber used in its construction was cut out with whip-saws, from pine logs brought down from the Rum River, in 1821. The small saw mill near the Falls was not finished until about the same period with the Fort itself.

It is stated there was such a lack of writing paper in the Fort during 1820–21, that Lieut. CAMP, commissary or quarter master, was compelled to make out his quarterly accounts for transmission to Washington, on strips of birch bark.

In 1824, Col. SNELLING, who had previously arrived and assumed the command, undertook to raise wheat, wherewith to furnish flour for the troops, but the crop failed, and as a consequence the garrison were placed for three months on half rations.

THE TROUBLES OF 1827.

The amicable relations existing between the government officers and the Dakotas, received a severe shock in 1827. A party of Chippewas having descended the Mississippi, on a visit to the commanding officer of the Fort, were allowed to encamp on the outside of the walls, and under the protection of the guns. During the night they were fired upon by a small number of Dakotas, and two of their party wounded. Col. SNELLING was informed of the out-

rage, and on the following morning he paraded his men under arms, marched toward the prairie, where a large number of the Dakotas were assembled, and seized some of the principal men as hostages, for the surrender of the guilty parties, and placed them under guard. During the next day, three of the young men, said to have participated in the night attack, were brought in and delivered up. They were immediately turned over to the Chippewas, who put them to death in the presence of the troops; and two days after a fourth, having also been surrendered, met a like fate. The bodies were suffered to remain where they fell, without burial, until, becoming offensive, they were thrown over the steep bluff, near the Fort. It subsequently appeared that but two out of the four were really guilty. One of the innocent men had sacrificed himself to shield his brother, who was a mere boy, and the other was not of the attacking party. The excitement which was produced by so unusual a proceeding, was prodigious, not only among the Dakotas, but among their white friends in the country The commandant was charged with unjustifiable haste in the summary execution of innocent men, and for a short time there was a fair prospect of an Indian war. Col. SNELLING justified the steps he had taken, on the ground that the American flag had been insulted, by the violence offered to Indians under its immediate protection, and it was his duty to punish the offenders.

As a mere question of policy, there is no doubt that Col. SNELLING committed a grave error, in sacrificing four Dakota lives as an atonement for the wounding of two Chippewas, both of whom recovered. True, the severity of the measure tended to prevent future outbreaks of a like kind, in the immediate vicinity of the Fort, but it also excited a far deeper exasperation in the minds of the Dakotas against their hereditary enemies the Chippewas, and a

spirit of revenge against the soldiers, both of which found vent in blood.

Many a Chippewa scalp was torn from the reeking head by the friends of the victims, which, but for their unhappy fate, would have remained where Providence had placed it —and a number of American soldiers, supposed by their officers and comrades, to have shamefully deserted their colors, had in reality been ruthlessly slain, and their bodies concealed by Dakota hands.

Several of such cases were brought to light in after years, by the traders, and avowed by the Indians themselves. One soldier was shot, and his body secreted near Lake Calhoun, another was disposed of in like manner, about two miles below Mendota—and I myself discovered the skeleton of a white man, not far from my present place of residence, which bore the mark of a bullet in the skull, and which was recognized as the remains of a soldier, by the strips of clothing found in the immediate vicinity. On one occasion, ALEXANDER FARIBAULT, while descending the Mississippi in a boat, in company with others, found, at the head of Lake Pepin, four dead bodies of soldiers, partly devoured by birds of prey. The fate of these men elicited but little sympathy, for they were engaged in an attempt to desert, when they were set upon and butchered, by certain Dakotas of the Red Wing Band.

Other instances no doubt occurred of the same kind, for the desire of revenge when once aroused in the savage breast, is not easily satiated.

Our fellow citizen, JOSEPH R. BROWN, was at Lake Travers, when the Dakotas were delivered over to the Chippewas for execution, and on his way back he narrowly escaped death, at Lac qui Parle, Travers de Sioux and SIX'S Village, it being the avowed intention of the friends of the victims to destroy him.

BEGINNING OF STEAM NAVIGATION.

The first steamer that ever ascended the Upper Mississippi to Fort Snelling, was the "Virginia," a stern wheeled boat, which arrived at the post in the early part of May, 1823. It is related, that a sentinel on duty first heard the sound made by the escaping steam, before the boat was discernible. He cried out most vociferously, and when officers and men crowded around him for information, it happened that the sounds were no longer audible. The poor fellow was in imminent danger of being put under guard, when the "Virginia" made her appearance, and her arrival was greeted by the booming of cannon and by shouts of welcome from the whole command.

Previous to the introduction of steamers upon the waters of the Upper Mississippi, keel boats were used exclusively for the transportation of troops and supplies. Sixty days time from St. Louis to Fort Snelling, was considered a good average trip.

MISSIONARY OPERATIONS.

SAMUEL W. POND and GIDEON H. POND, both of whom are now highly respected preachers of the gospel in Minnesota, came to this country in the spring of 1834, from New England. They resided with the Lake Calhoun Band of Dakotas for some time, teaching them how properly to cultivate the soil, while they at the same time endeavored to instil into the minds of these savages the truths of the Christian Religion. This attempt may be considered as the germ of modern missionary enterprise in this Territory. Dr. WILLIAMSON was sent out with Mr. HUGGINS in 1835, by the A. B. C. F. M., and a station was formed at Lac qui Parle. S. R. RIGGS followed a short time after, and commenced operations at Travers de Sioux, but he was subsequently replaced at that point by Mr. HOPKINS, Mr. R's presence being

required at Lac qui Parle. Dr. WILLIAMSON removed to Kaposia, a few miles below St. Paul, and commenced his labors there. Messrs. DENTON and GAVIN were despatched to this missionary field by a Swiss Society. Their sphere of operations was principally confined to the Red Wing Band of Dakotas, but their efforts were soon discontinued. Mr. DENTON is now a citizen of Illinois, while his associate was ordered by the Society to which he was attached, to take up his residence among the New York Indians. The Catholic denomination have confined their labors to the Winnebagoes, they never having made any locations in the Dakota country.

The missionaries have zealously devoted themselves to the work allotted to them, but it is to be regretted that there has been no good result produced in the Northwest, except at particular points, commensurate with the amount of money expended and the labor bestowed upon the enterprise.

PIONEER LUMBERMEN.

The lumber trade, now so important in its character, may be said to have been originated in 1839 or 1840, when ORANGE WALKER and his partners, erected the Marine mill on the St. Croix River. They were followed by JOHN MCKUSICK, who built a saw mill at Stillwater, in 1844, and by MOWERS and LOOMIS, who commenced the Arcola mills about the same time. These gentlemen, with ELAM GREELEY and the brothers TAYLOR, were the pioneers of the commerce in pine lumber in Minnesota.

PIONEER FARMERS.

Messrs. HASKELL and NORRIS are entitled to be considered the first farmers who made Minnesota their home, and who demonstrated that our lands are equal to any other in the

West for the production of the cereals, a fact which was denied not only by men not resident in the territory, but by individuals among us. The agricultural and lumber interests are to be the great levers to raise us in our career of prosperity, and the originators of each, the men "who have borne the burthen and heat of the day," should be remembered with honor, in the history of Minnesota.

VISITS OF NOTABLE CHARACTERS.

Since the establishment of Fort Snelling, this region has been visited at various times by men distinguished for their public position, or for their literary or scientific attainments.

In 1820, LEWIS CASS, with a small party, traversed Lake Superior in a bark canoe, under the orders of the Government, made the portage to Sandy Lake, and after various explorations, during which he visited the fine body of water that bears his name, he descended the Mississippi to the mouth of the Wisconsin River.

In 1823, Major S. H. LONG, with a few scientific men and an escort of soldiers, explored the valley of the Minnesota, and the country lying between the sources of that stream and Pembina, where, or rather near which point he designated the line of 49° North latitude, between the United States Territories and the British Possessions, by fixing a prominent post, with suitable inscriptions, deep in the earth.

HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT. in 1832, was placed in charge of an expedition, by the Government, to examine the region between Lake Superior and the Mississippi. On this trip he discovered the source of the Great Father of waters—Itasca Lake. He also added much other valuable information to what was known of the valley of the Mississippi, and of its tributary streams.

JEAN N. NICOLLET, the man to whose labors this Territory is so deeply indebted, first visited it in 1835. When in the employ of the Government in 1839, he came across from Fort Pierre on the Missouri, to Mendota, and with him was JOHN C. FREMONT, that being the first experience of the latter in prairie life. They were my guests for several weeks, and FREMONT then accompained me on one of my annual hunting excursions with the Indians, to the Red Cedar River, from whence I conducted him to Prairie du Chieu.

In the same year, GEORGE CATLIN made his appearance, a man whose work on the North American Indians produced much sensation in this country, as well as in Europe. Of all those who have visited the wilds of the Northwest, no one was received with greater attention than GEORGE CATLIN, by resident white men, and no one deserved it so little as he did.

His intention to devote a long time to the study of Indian life and character, and his eminent fitness for such an undertaking were made the subject of frequent editorials in the columns of the New York Commercial Advertiser, then under the charge of Col. STONE, and of other leading prints. According to their representations, the reading world was at length to be blessed with such a production as the interest and importance of the subject required. Being furnished with letters to military officers and civilians on the frontier he was aided in every manner possible. His object in coming here was to visit the Pipe Stone Quarry, and I furnished horses, without charge, for himself and his companion, Mr. WOOD, an English gentleman of intelligence, provided them with a trusty Indian guide, and gave them also letters to the gentlemen at the head of my trading posts on the route, which rendered it quite certain that they would meet with no impediment from the Indians. They were questioned by the Dakotas at Traverse des Sioux, as to their

intentions, but through the interference of Mr. PROVENCALLE at that station, they were allowed to proceed without molestation. To judge from CATLIN'S description of the trip one would suppose that he had been kept close prisoner for some time, and that nothing but his own heroic daring saved him from being devoured by a band of bloodthirsty savages. His letters purporting to have been written at the Pipe Stone Quarry, but which did not appear in the New York papers until after his departure from the Upper Mississippi, contained severe reflections upon the military and upon traders alike, because the Indians were not better tutored than to interfere with an American citizen in his passage through their country. His letters abounded with mis-statements, and the voluminous work subsequently produced by him was equal to them in that respect. The people in this quarter were absolutely astounded at his misrepresentations of men and things. There is but one redeeming feature in his book, and that is, his sketches of Indian faces and scenes, which are sufficiently faithful, as he was skillful in that line, and his pencil could not, therefore, like his pen, vary much from the truth.

He was followed, during the same season, by G. W FEATHERSTONHAUGH, who styled himself U. S. Geologist, then on his way to the head of the St. Peters or Minnesota River. His appearance and manners were ill calculated to ensure him a favorable reception among plain republicans. He was both aristocratic and conceited. His productions are characterized by abuse of American society and of particular individuals. All the information embodied in it of any value to Minnesota, was the result of the labor of Lieut. MATHER, a scientific officer, who accompanied him, but to whom he vouchsafed no credit whatever in his printed volumes.

Capt. MARRYATT, an English naval officer, known as the author of Peter Simple, and other works of fiction, arrived at Mendota in 1837, and was my visitor for several weeks. He had little of the gentleman either in his manners or appearance, nor can reliance be placed upon his statements of facts in his printed work. Like FEATHERSTONHAUGH, he was a thorough aristocrat in feeling, and like him, he manifested anything but friendship for the United States and its institutions.

HISTORIC SKETCH OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT.

The first move in Congress for the establishment of a temporary Government in Minnesota, took place during the session of 1846–7. A Bill for that purpose was introduced in the House of Representatives by MORGAN L. MARTIN, Delegate from Wisconsin, in anticipation of the admission of the State of Wisconsin into the Union, which Bill was referred to the Committee on Territories, Mr. DOUGLAS being the Chairman. It happened that I was in Washington at the time the bill was discussed in Committee, and I was consulted by Mr. MARTIN as to the propriety of the name, he stating that there had been four names proposed by different members, to wit: "Minnesota," as in the original bill, "Itasca," "Algonquin" and "Chippewa." I urged him to use his best efforts to retain the name, it being the Indian term to designate the principal river which took its rise and debouched within the proposed territorial limits, and was therefore in accordance with the precedent set in other cases,—and he promised to do so. The Committee reported in favor of the Bill, with the change of Minnesota to Itasca, and with material alterations in the Eastern boundary. When it came up for consideration in the House, HOUSTON, of Delaware, proposed "Washington" as the name

of the new Territory; THOMPSON, of Mississippi, was in favor of "Jackson," while WINTHROP, of Massachusetts, manifested much anxiety for the adoption of "Chippewa," in lieu of "Itasca." The effect of so much diversity of opinion on the part of prominent members, was to cause the House to agree without a count, to the motion of Mr. MARTIN, who proposed to substitute "Minnesota." The Bill, thus amended, passed the House, but was lost in the Senate.

The admission of the State of Wisconsin was not effected without a severe struggle in fixing the Northwestern boundary. Some members were in favor of a line drawn due West from Lake Superior to the Mississippi, others advocated Rum river, others the St. Croix, and still others the line from Rush river of Lake Pepin to Lake Superior. The adoption of either of the two first mentioned would have been attended with calamitous results to the Territory, by excluding from its limits all the region East of the Mississippi below, and more or less of that above the Falls of St. Anthony. The Rush river line was by far the most just and reasonable, as it would have left the whole St. Croix valley, which is identical in interest, within the same political organization, instead of being divided as it now is. The utmost that could be obtained by the friends of the Territory, was the St. Croix line, and we have great reason to be thankful to them that we were not delivered over entirely to the mercies of our Wisconsin neighbors, whose affections for us were so great that they would willingly have swallowed all of us who resided on the East side of the river without manifesting any fear of nausea or indigestion.

In 1848, the people of the residuum of Wisconsin, not included within the state organization, determined to assert their rights to be represented in Congress, and they were aided by those who lived on the West side of the Missis-

sippi. The first meeting of which I have any knowledge, for the agitation of the subject, was held in HENRY JACKSON'S building, on Bench street, he himself, AUGUSTE LARPENTEUR, ALEXANDER MCLEOD, J. W. BASS, DAVID LAMBERT, JAMES MCC. BOAL, and several others being present. There were appointed a chairman and secretary, some speeches were made, and resolutions passed in favor of a convention of the people. I think the meeting was held in May or June, 1848. Next came the meeting at Stillwater, of August 4th, in the same year, which was attended by sundry citizens of that town, and by others from St. Paul. FRANKLIN STEELE and myself were the sole individuals present from the West of the Mississippi. Some twenty of us signed the call for the convention, which was held on the 18th of the same month, at Stillwater, and which was attended by sixty-two delegates from different parts of the Territory. With the proceedings of that convention most of you are familiar. I have in my possession the original petition to Congress of that body, signed by all the delegates, and it is my intention to present it to the Society as a valuable memento of the past.

The election of a delegate to Congress, from Wisconsin Territory—the struggle to obtain his seat—the successful issue—and the other preliminaries to the political birth of our beautiful Minnesota—these are subjects upon which it is not for me to comment, as I was the delegate when the Territory was organized. Let it suffice to say, that we owe much to the men from both of the great sections of the Union, who gave their votes in our favor, at a time when the questions connected with California, and the other territories acquired from Mexico, had produced a state of feeling between the North and the South, which augured ill for the success of an attempt to procure the

establishment of a Territorial government in any quarter of the Union.

PERSONAL AND FINAL.

I have now discharged the duty you have been pleased to devolve upon me, in my own imperfect manner. I might prolong this address to an indefinite extent, by details of personal adventures, and of incidents of wild life in the West. But I have already trespassed too much upon your time and patience, and I close with the single remark, that I may, at no distant day, so far comply with the wishes of some of my friends, as to lay before the public the results of my experience and observation since my arrival in this country, with such other facts as may be connected with the history of the Northwest.

CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX.

YEAR. PAGES.

1527—Narvaez discovers the mouth of the Mississippi.....119, 129
1541—De Soto reaches the Mississippi.....119, 129
1607—Henry Hudson discovers Hudson's Bay.....207
1608—The French begin to settle Canada.....120
1641—Civilized man first hears of the Dakotas..... 19
1654—Two young traders penetrate the Dakota Country.....19, 256
1656—French traders penetrate as far as Hudson's Bay.....208
1659—Two traders pass winter on Lake Superior.....135, 196, 295
1661—Aug. 20—Father Mesnard lost on Keweenaw Portage.....20, 136
1665—Claude Allonez visits La Pointe.....21, 120
He learns of the existence of the "Messipi" (River)..... 21
1668—Dablon and Marquette arrive at La Pointe.....21
Marquette determines to explore the "Messipi".....22
1670—May 2—Charter of Hudson's Bay Co. granted.....216
1673—Marquette journeys down the Wisconsin River, &c.....22, 120
1678—La Salle receives permission to build forts in New France.....23
1679—Builds a vessel to make discoveries in.....24
La Salle and Hennepin set sail.....24, 305
1680—Reach Lake Peoria, Ill., and build "Fort Crevecœur".....25, 306
La Salle orders Hennepin to explore the Upper Mississippi..27, 120, 196, 306.
Feb. 29—Hennepin departs with two companions.....27, 306
Is taken prisoner by the Dakotas..... ....27, 120, 272, 307
Discovers the Falls of St. Anthony.....27, 308
Meets Duluth on his return 315
Groselliers and Radisson leave Quebec for Hudson's Bay.....208
1688—Baron La Hontan's pretended exploration of "La Riviere Longue".....30, 32, 45, 121, 256, 258, 284, 295, 296
1695—Count Frontenac deputises Le Sueur to build a fort on the Upper Mississippi.....32
Le Sueur discovers the existence of copper mines..... 33, 45, 320
D'Iberville ordered to take English posts on Hudson's Bay....311

YEAR. PAGES.
1700—D'Iberville sends Le Sueur to explore the copper mines, 33, 321, 340
Sept. 19. Le Sueur reaches the St. Peter's River.....34, 328
Oct. 1. Reaches Blue Earth River and builds Fort L'Huillier, 34, 45
1701—Digs a lot of bogus "ore," and carries it to France..34, 35, 45, 321, 337
1703—Le Sueur's men abandon Fort L'Huillier.....337
1705—Trading houses erected at Mankato and on the St. Croix.....197
(Circa) Perrot builds a Fort on Lake Pepin.. 197
1755—A French Fort established at Prairie du Chien.... ..... .348
1759—Fall of Quebec..... .....108, 121
1766—Jonathan Carver explores Minnesota..... .45, 121, 264, 351
Thomas Ourry ascends River Saskatchewan.....213
1767—May 1. Carver's pretended treaty with the Indians.....357
1783—Northwest Fur Company formed.....215
1787—July 13. Northwestern Territory ordinance passed.....215
1797—Joseph Renville and Perlier winter near Sauk Rapids.....198, 387
1803—Cession of Louisiana..... 108
1804—Wm. Morrison discovers Itasca Lake..... 418
1805—Faribault establishes a trading post near mouth of St. Peter....468
President Jefferson sets on foot Pike's Expedition.....121, 471
Sep. 23. Treaty of Pike. Cession of Fort Snelling Reservation 379, 471
Oct. 15. Pike reaches Pine Creek and encamps for the winter 122, 471
1806—Feb. 12—Pike reaches the terminus of his trip.....122, 471
1812—War with Great Britain.....199, 472
Dickson hires the tribes of the Northwest against the U. S....199
Lord Selkirk establishes his colony on Red River..... .217
1813—Minnesota Indians at the siege of Fort Meigs.....199
1815—Death of Gov. Semple, at Fort Garry..... ...218
1817—Maj. Long recommends the establishment of a post at the mouth of St..Peter..... 420
1818—Mr. Calhoun, Sec. of War, take steps to carry the recommendation into effect.....123
Priests of the Catholic church found missions on Red River...219
1819—Sept. 17—Col. Leavenworth arrives at St. Peter's and builds cantonments..... 420
The construction of Fort Snelling commenced.....200, 473
Scurvy destroys almost half the troops.....422, 473
1820—May—Camp Coldwater established.....474
Red River Colony send to Prairie du Chien for seed.....220, 470

YEAR. PAGES.

1820—July—Schoolcraft and Cass visit the post..... ..... 423, 479
Aug.—Col. Snelling takes command of the post... 422
Building of the fort progresses.....422
1821—Alexis Bailly takes a drove of cattle to Red River Colony.....469
First lumber brought from Rum River.....474
1822—Columbia Fur Company established.....200
Union of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies.....222
1823—Maj. Long's exploration..... .....124, 200, 268, 430, 479
Beltrami's exploration.....125, 430
Carver's claim rejected by U. S. Senate.....364
May 10—First steamboat arrived.....429, 477
Murder of the Tully family by the Sioux..... 432
Visit of Gen. Scott.....432
Name of Fort St. Anthony changed to Fort Snelling.....432
1824—Fort Snelling finally completed..... 474
1825—Treaty of Prairie du Chien.. .....130, 175, 472
1826—Murder of Chippewas at Fort Snelling by Dakotas...434, 441, 445, 474.
The murderers compelled to run the gantlet.....448, 455, 474
Great flood on Red River.....220
1827—Winnebagoes attack boats coming to Fort Snelling.....435
Col. Snelling ordered to St. Louis.....436
1830—Treaty of pacification at Prairie du Chien.....472
1831—Rev. G. A. Belcourt goes to Red River as a missionary.....240
1832—Schoolcraft's second exploration.....125, 153, 479
July 13. He reaches Itasca Lake.....129, 165
First school in Minnesota established at Sandy Lake.....81
Black Hawk War.....126
1833—Rev. W. T. Boutwell establishes school at Leech Lake.....81, 84
1834—Hon. H. H. Sibley arrives in Minnesota.....469
E. F. Ely opens mission school at Fond du Lac.....81
Revs. S. W. and G. H. Pond arrives.....477
1835—Rev. T. S. Williamson arrives.....84, 203, 437, 477
He establishes the first Prot. church in Minnesota 88, 437
Featherstonhaugh & Mather's geological exploration, 133, 202, 481
J. N. Nicollet visits Minnesota.....188, 174, 480
Miss Poage teaches the first school at Lac qui Parle.....81
J. R. Brown shot by an Indian 469
Louis Provencalle, Jr., killed by an Indian.....469
1836—Mission school established at Lake Pokeguma.....81, 84
Rev S. W. Pond teaches mission school at Lake Harriet..... 84

YEAR. PAGES.
1836—Fremont and Nicollet arrive at Fort Snelling....480
Catlin visits Minnesota....480
1837—Methodist mission established at Kaposia....85
Treaty of Fort Snelling....461, 472
Treaty of Washington....472
Martin McLeod, Wm. H. Forbes, and Frank Steele arrive....482
1839—Mission at Crow Wing established....85
H. M. Rice arrives....470
Marine Mills erected on the St. Croix....478
1840—Mission school founded at Red Wing....81
1841—Battle of Lake Pokeguma....177
Treaties by Gov. Doty....472
1842—Treaty of La Pointe....142
July—Battle of Pig's Eye....182
1844—Sept. 18. Death of Nicollet....192
J. McKusick builds first mill at Stillwater....478
Mower and Loomis build mill at Arcola....478
1846—Miss Williamson opens a school at Kaposia....82
First attempt to organize Minnesota Territory....482
Death of Joseph Renville....206
1847—First school opened at St. Paul....82
The Winnebagoes taken to Long Prairie....470
1848—First school opened at Stillwater....82
May 29—Wisconsin admitted a State....55, 483
June—Public meeting held at St. Paul to effect a Territorial organization for Minnesota....53, 484
Aug. 5—Public meeting at Stillwater (for do)....53, 484
Aug. 26—Convention assembles at Stillwater....55, 484
Memorial to Congress to organize the Territory....56
Sept. 18—John H. Tweedy resigns....61
Acting Gov. Catlin issues a proclamation for an election for delegate....61
Oct. 30—Hon. H. H. Sibley elected....61
He goes to Washington as delegate from Wisconsin Territory...61
His efforts to obtain a seat....63, 69, 484
1849—Organization of the Territory....53, 62, 65, 78, 483
Removal of Land Office to Stillwater....65
March 19—Pres. Taylor appoints Supreme Judges for Minn....78
May 27—Gov. Ramsey arrives at St. Paul....78
June 1—Issues proclamation announcing the Territory fully organized....78

YEAR. PAGES.
1849—June 11—Divides the Territory into judicial districts.....78
Aug. 13—First court held in Minnesota.....79
Several missionaries arrive in St. Paul.....87
Description of St. Paul in 1849.....250
Apr. 28—The first paper in Minnesota established.....247
1850—Scalp dances still enacted in hearing of St. Paul.....86
Episcopal mission established at St. Paul.....88
Jan. 14—First term of the Supreme Court.....79
May 15—Murder of a Dakota opposite St. Paul, by Hole-in-the-Day.....254
1851—July 4—Rev. R. Hopkins drowned.....267
July 23—Treaty of Traverse de Sioux.....260
Great flood in Red River.....221
1852—Aug. 27—Goodhue died.....253

GENERAL INDEX.

PAGES.

Abert, Col. J. J., Engineer U. S. A.....183
Aboriginal, or pre-historic races, their remains.....458
Adultery, punishment of women for, among the Dakotas.....196, 279, 336
Agriculture, area of, in Minnesota.....117
Aile Prairie (Winona) mentioned.....414
Aird, James, an early N. W. Trader.....369
Aitkin, William A., an early Trader, &c.,.....61, 86, 159, 194, 470
Aiton, Rev. J. F., author of an article.....147
Ako, Michael, one of Hennepin's voyageurs.....27, 306, 307, 312
Algonquin, proposed as a name for Minnesota Territory.....482
Algonquin race, mentioned,.....47, 49, 298, 299, 348, 459
Alison's History of Europe, quoted.....458
Allen, Lieut., member of Schoolcraft's Party.....125, 126, 159
Allouez, Claude, early Jesuit Missionary.....31, 120
American Fur Company mentioned.....139, 417, 469
Anastase, Pere, an early Jesuit writer on America.....29
Ancient Mounds, Monuments, or Fortifications..... .....144, 352, 354
Anderson, Angus M., clerk to H. H. Sibley.....195
Anderson, Mr. —— a Northwestern Trader.....399, 400, 403, 412
Angleran, Father, Supt. of Mackinac Mission..... 318
Anpetusapawin, Legend of.....198
Aquipaguetin, a Dakota Chief in Hennepin's time.....272, 308, 309, 310
Aricaree Indians, mentioned.....259
Arkansas Indians, mentioned.....300
Assiniboines, Tribe of.....46, 48, 94, 236, 237, 257, 296, 313, 331, 338, 342, 354
Astor, John Jacob,.....201, 377
Athontatas, Tribe of, mentioned by Hennepin.....297
Atkinson, Gov. Henry.....435
Auguelle, Anthony, a voyageur of Hennepin.....27, 306, 312
Aux Ailes River.....282
Ayavois, or Iowas, which see..... .....
Ayer, Rev. Frederic, early missionary, &c..... ..... 81, 85

Babcock, Hon. Lorenzo A., a pioneer lawyer, &c.....79
Backus, Miss, first school teacher at St. Anthony..... 82
Bailly, Alexis, Indian Trader 466
Baker, Benj. F., Indian Trader.....469
——Dan'l. A. J., a school teacher.....81, 82

PAGES.

Ball playing among the Indians....260, 373, 415
Bancroft's History of the U. S. quoted....19, 30, 49, 135
Banfield, John, a pioneer of Minnesota....61, 261
Baptism of the first Dakota child, by Hennepin....312
Bar, early members of, in Minnesota....79
Barnard, Rev. Mr., an early mission teacher....82, 86
Barn Bluff, at Red Wing....413
Bass, Jacob W., an early settler of Minnesota....250, 251, 484
Batture aux Fievres....442, 444, 450
Baye des Puans, (Green Bay, Wis.) which see....
Beavers, their mode of working described....387
Beaulieu, Clement, Indian Trader, &c....470
Beaux, an Ojibwa Chieftain....408
Begging, a habit of the Indians....443
Belcourt, Rev. G. A., Missionary to Red River....207, 240
Belle Prairie, Mission school established at....86
Beltrami, Constantine, explores sources of Miss. &c....125, 480
Benson, Lyman L., of St. Paul, early settler....251
Bianaswah, an Ojibwa Chieftain....345
Bienville, Commander General of Canada....337
Big Stone Lake, mentioned....134, 260
Bishop, Miss Harriet E., pioneer school teacher....82
—— P. P., an early lawyer of Minnesota....79
Bison....238, 229, 359
Black, Mahlon, an early settler of Minnesota....60
Black Dog, a Sioux Chieftain, his village, &c....175, 262, 263, 299
—— Hawk, war, mentioned....126
Black Tomahawk, a Dakota orator and traditionist....144, 145, 146
Blake, Edward, an early settler of Minnesota, &c....61
Blakely, Mr., a Trader of Montreal....415
Blondeau, Mr., an early Trader in the Northwest....369
Blue Earth River....31, 34, 134, 260, 297, 300, 328, 329, 337
Boal, James M., an early settler of Minnesota....484
Boardman, Mrs. Martha, a mission school teacher....81
Bonaparte, Napoleon, sells Louisiana to the U. S....108
Book Keeping, by pictures and hieroglyphics....466
Borup, Dr. C. W., a Trader at Yellow Lake....86
Bouchette, the Geographer of Canada....114
Boundaries, between Wisconsin and Minnesota....483
Bourassa, Rev. Mr., early missionary on Saskatchewan River....222
Bourgeois, Mr., early Trader in Hudson's Bay region....217
Boutwell, Rev. W. T., early missionary, &c....81, 84, 125, 133
Bowron, Mr., a pioneer of the St. Croix Valley....52
Boyden, Hon. Nathaniel, of N. C., mentioned....62, 69
Brace, P. A. R., an early settler of Minnesota....55
Brace, Rev. H. J., a Methodist missionary....85
Bradley, Corporal, member of Pike's party....388, 390, 394, 396, 400, 406
Bradford, his Notes on the Northwest, quoted....31
Bras Casse, or "Broken Arm," a Dakota chief....38

PAGES.

Breboeuf, a priest, accompanies Hurons home in 1634.....19
Breck, Rev. J. L., an Episcopal missionary.....88
Brewster, John R., an early settler in Minnesota.....55
British, officers make Dakotas a present, &c.....25
British Flag, Pike hauls down.....396, 400, 408, 471
Brown, Joseph R., a pioneer of Minnesota.....55, 57, 469, 476
——— Rev. Mr., a Baptist missionary.....87
——— Samuel F., member of Stillwater convention.....61
——— Wm. B., an early settler of Minnesota.....358
——— Wm. R., member of Stillwater convention.....61
Brunson, Rev. Alfred, of Prairie du Chien.....85
Brusky, Charles, Trader at Sandy Lake.....397
Buchanan, Hon. James, his opinion as Sec. of State, quoted.....53
Buck, an Ojibwa Chief, mentioned by Pike.....400, 408
Buffalo, an Ojibwa Chieftain.....347
Buffaloes, mode of hunting, &c.....238, 259, 380
Bulwer, Sir E. L., quoted.....350
Burial place of Naudowessie Indians.....355, 358
——— customs of Indians.....378
Burkleo, Samuel, an early settler of Minnesota.....56
Burning Earth, Chief of Dakotas.....286
Burnt, an Ojibwa Chief.....400
Cabot, the discoverer of America.....114
Cadotte, a resident of La Pointe in 1832.....153
Calhoun, John C., authorizes Long's Expedition.....126
California, a sequence of the Louisiana cession.....108
Cameron, Murdock, an early trader.....375, 379, 412, 416
Campbell, Mr., of Prairie du Chien.....415
Campbell, Colin, interpreter at Fort Snelling.....425
Camp Coldwater, near Fort Snelling.....423, 474
Camp, Lieut., an officer at Fort Snelling in 1820–1.....474
Canada.....317
Canadian French, various references.....162, 208, 284
Cannibalism among the Indians.....181, 235
Cannon River.....31, 260, 263, 299, 336, 376, 413
Cantonment at Mendota, in 1819–20.....421
Canterbury, Conn., probable birth place of Carver.....349
Carli, Dr., of Stillwater, early settler of Minnesota.....53, 55
Carter, Wm. G., early settler of Minnesota.....61
Carver, John, Gov. of Plymouth Colony.....349
Carver, Jonathan, "an adventurer of courage and enterprise,".....46
His birth and parentage.....349, 350
Conceives the project of exploring the Northwest.....350
Arrives at Prairie du Chien.....351
Examines some supposed ancient fortifications.....352
Arrives at the Great Cave, now in St. Paul.....121, 354
Centennial celebration of his Treaty held.....355
Makes a Treaty at the Great Cave.....357
Collects a vocabulary of Dakota words.....365

PAGES,

Carver, Jonathan, his prophecy concerning the future of this country....360
His theory on the origin of the Dakotas....360
Returns to England; publishes his travels; death....121, 361
Deed purported to have been given him by the Indians....362
His heirs petition the United States for title to lands....362
Report of Gen. Leavenworth on the Carver claim....363
Report of Senator Van Dyke to Congress....365
Pike endeavors to find the Cave in vain....411
His work quoted....34, 260, 262, 264, 297, 327, 373, 439
Cass, Hon. Lewis....46, 123, 124, 162, 423, 426, 440, 479
Cass Lake, mentioned....82, 86, 124, 126, 418, 419
Cassina, Lake....162
Catlin, Geo., artist and explorer....430
Catlin, Hon. John, Sec. of Wisconsin Territory....53, 61
Cave, discovered by Carver....354, 357, 362, 411
Cavilier, Charles, an early resident of Minnesota....250, 252
Cayuga Indians, referred to....316
Charlevoix, the historian, quoted....135, 137, 196, 202, 256, 261, 295, 297
Cheever, Benj. H., assists in organizing Minnesota Territory....58
Chegoimegon, (or La Pointe) which see....
Chevri, H., an early resident of Minnesota....61
Chicago, mentioned....22, 341
Chickasaws, Tribe of....340
Chingouabe, Ojibwa Chief, taken to Montreal....320
Chinese language, similar to Dakota....336
Chippewa, proposed as name for Minnesota....482
Chippewa River, Wis....149, 325, 362, 364, 374
Chippewa Tribe, or Saulteurs, see "Ojibwas."....
Choctaws, Tribe of....340
Chongasketons, (Wolf or Dog People)....257, 258, 260, 296, 336
Chouteau, Pierre, Jr....187, 194
Christianity in Minnesota, first established by Catholics....84
Christianaux, or Knisteneaux, Tribe of....331
Churches, Roman Catholic the first in Minnesota....84
Clark, Maj. N., memoir of, &c....421, 432, 445
Clarke, Mrs. Charlotte, memoir, &c....421, 429
Clarke, Gov. William, Supt. of Indian affairs....381, 440
Clear River, mentioned....406, 408
Clewett, James R., a pioneer of Minnesota....61
Climate of Minnesota....40
Close, Rev. Benj., a Methodist Missionary, &c....87
Colbert River, (or Mississippi)....315
Colcaspi, Island, how named....126
Collier, John, an early settler of Minnesota....55
Columbia Fur Co....441, 461
Contrast between explorers of the Northwest and the Pilgrim Fathers....17
Convention at Stillwater, on the territorial question....55
Cooper, Judge David, appointed Judge of Supreme Court....78
Copper mines in Minnesota, &c....21, 35, 191
Copway, Rev. George, Methodist Missionary....85

PAGES.

Corn, cultivation of, at Sandy Lake....158
Cory, J. B., an early resident of Minnesota....61
Court Houses, only one in Minnesota in 1850....80
Court, first session held in Minnesota....79
Courts, in Minnesota, early....77
Coureurs des bois, or voyageurs....196, 198
Couteau de Prairie, ...134, 149, 190, 260, 469
Coxe's "History of Carolana" quoted....256
Craig, J. H., an early school teacher at Pt. Douglas....82
Crees, Tribe of....227, 228
Crevecœur, Fort, built by La Salle in Illinois....26, 121, 307
Cross Lake, mentioned,....418, 419
Crow River, mentioned,....386
Crow Wing, mentioned,....85, 122
Crow Wing River, (or Des Corbeau) which see....
Crows, Tribe of....300
Crozat, M., receives trading privilege in Louisiana....338
Culbertson, his report to the Smithsonian Institution quoted....259
Curly Head, a Chippewa warrior....396

Dablon, a priest, visits Lake Superior in 1668....21
Daniel, a priest, accompanies Hurons to their home....19
Dakotas, or Sioux....
Early notices of the Naudowessioux, &c....256, 296, 329, 335, 336, 342
Carver's theory concerning their origin....360
Meaning of the name....255
Probable date of their arrival or origin in Minnesota....47, 295, 301
Civilized man first hears of the nation in 1641....19
Two traders penetrate their country in 1654....20, 135, 196, 256, 295
Their territory extended to Lake Superior in 1665....21, 257, 301
A chief accompanies Le Sueur to Montreal....32, 332
Their warfare with the Ojibwas, 21, 36, 46, 47, 125, 131, 161, 254, 276, 268, 286, 423 434, 439, 441.
Their probable settlement on the upper Mississippi....47, 295, 301
They abandon the upper Mississippi and go to the plains....47
Revolt of a branch of the nation now called Assiniboins....48, 296, 460
Drives the Iowas from the St. Peter's River....48, 144
Their language collected into a Grammar and Lexicon....51, 105, 197, 265
The mixed bloods give power of attorney to dispose of their lands....66
The language of the Dakotas....89, 264
Destiny of the Indian Tribes....89, 132, 255
The number of the tribes....93, 257, 335, 342
Dialects in the language....94, 264
A portion of the Dakotas join the Ojibwas....94
Copiousness or meagreness of the Dakota tongue....97, 265
Names of children a peculiarity—relationship....98
Difficulty of mastering the language....102, 264, 311
Arrangement of words in a sentence....104
Supposed affinity of Dakota and Chinese....336, 380

PAGES.

Dakotas or Sioux.
A lexicon of 15,000 words completed....105
Accent; figures of speech, &c....106
Their punishment of women for adultery....135, 279, 336
Their wars with the Iowas....144
Their religion, mythology and superstitions....145, 146, 149, 266, 269, 455, 461
Their mode of burying or disposing of dead....149, 298, 378
An early missionary's account of the nation's cruelty....203
Works published by the missionaries in Dakota....203
Their treachery towards the Saulteurs....236
The Dakota nation classified into bands....257, 260, 263
Number of Dakotas in 1854, 25,000....258
The medical science among the Dakotas....271, 273
Their fondness for war....275
Cruelty in murdering women and children....276
Lament of a Dakota mother for a deceased child....277
Marriage and matrimonial customs....279
Their love of finery and foppery....279
Their games and sports....280
Account of ball-playing between the bands....281
The dog dance and fish dance....282
The raw fish feast....283
Arms or totems of the Dakotas....284
Secret societies, or clans....284, 372
Their uncleanness and filthy habits....284
Gluttony, habits of sleeping....286
Night scenes in a Dakota village....287
The hardships endured by the females....287
Their tendency to commit suicide....289
Names of the months, &c....292
Ideas of future life; religious belief, &c....293
Customs of mourning for the dead....294, 358
They deny any knowledge of the Carver grant....363
Their mode of saluting visitors by musquetry....371
Their mode of constructing earth works or fortifications....373
Their murder of Chippewas at Fort Snelling in 1827....434, 442, 445, 474
Dissatisfied with their boundaries....440
Dakota murderers compelled to run the gantlet....448
Death song of a Dakota warrior....454
The Dakotas murder several soldiers....476
Dances of Indians, Buffalo dance....444
Scalp dance....275-6
Dog and fish dances....282
Religious and other dances....372, 444
Day, John, early resident of the Territory....61
De Breche, Chief of Sandy Lake Band....404
De Charleville, relative of Bienville, &c....337, 338
Deed of land from the Indians to Carver....362
Defence of the Frontier against Indians....123, 132

PAGES.
De La Barre, Governor of Canada....317
Delmas, Father, early missionary to Hudson's Bay....208, 209
Dennis, Mr., a soldier at Fort Snelling, gets married....423
Denton, Rev. Mr., missionary, &c....86, 478
Denton, Mrs. Persis, mission teacher....81
Denoyer, Stephen, early settler of Minnesota....61
Department of the Interior, incident of its creation....62
Denonville, Governor of Canada....317
Description of Minnesota, by H. H. Sibley....37
" " by Schoolcraft....108
De Lisle's map of Mississippi River referred to....259
Des Corbeau, (or Crow Wing River)....109, 113, 122, 130, 170, 171, 192, 387, 394, 418, 470
De Soto, discovers Mississippi River....119, 129
Des Moines, head waters of, once residence of Iowas....48
Detroit River....317, 318
Dewey, Dr. John J., an early settler of Minnesota, &c....250, 251
D'Iberville, a French captain, &c....33, 211, 339, 340
Dickson, Col. Robert, a British Fur Trader, 198, 199, 390, 391, 392, 399, 400, 403, 405, 407 408, 412.
Dickens, Rev. L., a Methodist missionary....87
Dictionary of the Dakota Language....51, 105, 197, 265, 311, 370
Dodge, Gov. Henry, of Wisconsin....472
Dog, dance, by the Dakotas....282
—— feasts....286
Dogs, used for draught animals....162, 401, 404
Doolittle, Mr. an early school teacher in St. Paul....88
Doty, Gov. J. D., of Wisconsin, negotiates treaties, &c....472
Douglas, Hon. Stephen A....482
Douglass, Capt. B., U. S. Engineer....123, 124
Dousman, H. L., of Prairie du Chien....195
Dow, Rev. J. W., a Methodist missionary....97
Drake, Dr. Daniel, of Cincinnati, his work quoted....112
Draper, Dr. Lyman C., of Wisconsin, quoted....349, 363
Dubuque, Julien....368
Du Gay, Picard, a companion of Hennepin....27, 306, 312
Du Luth, Sieur, arrives at St. Francis villages 1680....38, 314, 197
Described as a "man of talent and experience."....314
Meets Hennepin near the St. Croix....315
Engages Hennepin as a guide....316
Returns to Quebec....316
In command at Green Bay in 1684....317
Ordered to proceed to Detroit River....317
Present at the fight at Schenectady....318
At Fort Frontenac in 1696....318
Dumoulin, Rev. S. J. N., missionary to Selkirk's Settlement....220, 223
Duncan, Mr., early trader at St. Peters....383
Du Pratz, history of Louisiana, quoted....338
Durantaye, a companion of Du Luth....318

PAGES.

Early Courts of Minnesota....77
—— lawyers in attendance....79
Early schools of Minnesota....81
Ehakeku, War Prophet of Wabasha's band....282
Elk, mode of hunting the....324
Elk Lake, (now called Itasca)....163, 165, 418, 419
Ellet, Mrs. "Pioneer Woman of the West," quoted....421, 425
Eliot, the Indian Apostle....19
Ely, Edmund F., a pioneer teacher and missionary....81, 84, 177, 181
Espy, Dr., quoted....113
Esquimaux of British North America....286
Explorers of the Northwest....17, 44
Explorations of a recent day....46

Falling Leaf, a Dakota....370, 452
Falls of Pokeguma....113
Falls of St. Anthony....
First visited by an European....97, 144
Named by Hennepin....121
Its Dakota name....104
Its height and water power....113
Visited by Jonathan Carver....121, 355
Government saw and grist mill at....422
Described by Du Pratz....338
Described by Carver....356
Other references....354, 362, 384, 409
Falls of St. Croix....113
Falls of St. Mary....19, 50, 120, 153, 170, 301
Faraud, Father, early missionary to Hudson's Bay....238
Faribault, Alex., an Indian trader....469, 476
Faribault, J. B., a pioneer of Minnesota....377, 468
Fearing, Paul, his case quoted....71
Featherstonhaugh, the geologist....133, 202, 375, 481
Feasts of the Dakotas; Armor feast....275
Raw fish feast....283
Dog feast....286
Female life among the Indians....155, 277, 287, 289, 293
Ferrell, N. B., an early settler of Minnesota....61
Fils de Pinchon, a Dakota chief....379, 380, 410
Findlay's Ferry at Fort Snelling....355
Finley, James, early trader on Hudson's Bay....215
Fire arms, introduction of among Indians....45, 47
First Protestant church in Minnesota....88
Fish, abundance of....117, 143
Fisher, Jacob, early settler at Stillwater....53, 55
Fisher, Mr., trader at Prairie du Chien....369, 415
Fish feast of the Dakotas....283
Flat Mouth, Ojibwa chief....401, 402, 403, 442, 453, 455

PAGES.

Flinn, P., an early settler of Minnesota.....61
Fols Avoin, tribe.....390, 392, 394, 409
Fond du Lac.....81, 84, 85, 126, 139, 140, 418
Forbes, Wm. H., a pioneer of Minnesota.....13, 251, 469
Ford, John A., an old settler of Minnesota.....61
Foreman, Wm., a pioneer of Minnesota Territory.....60
Forrey, Dr., his work quoted.....113
Fort Charlotte, on Lake Superior.....314
Fort Crawford, Wis.....436
Fort Crevecœur.....26, 121, 307
Fort Gaines, (since Ripley).....66, 88, 131
Fort Garry, battle at.....218
Fort Leavenworth.....437
Fort L'Huillier; built by Le Sueur.....84, 331, 337, 345
Fort Nelson.....357, 362
Fort Pierre.....190
Fort Renville.....134, 150
Fort Riley, Kansas.....437
Fort Ripley.....88
Fort Snelling, incidentally mentioned.....133, 300
Mail route from, to Fort Gaines.....66
Protestant church organized.....88
Arrival of Schoolcraft's exploring party.....174
Early days at, memoirs of Mrs. Snelling and Mrs. Clark.....420
Maj. Long recommends the site for a fort.....420
Col. Leavenworth builds a cantonment at Mendota.....420, 472
The scurvy rages violently.....422, 423, 473
Col. Snelling commences to erect the Fort.....422, 429
Description of the building.....429
Arrival of the first steamboat.....430, 477
Visited by Gen. Scott, and the name changed.....432
Murder of Chippewas by Dakotas in 1826.....434, 442, 445
Formation of the first Protestant Church.....437
Dakota murderers delivered to the Chippewas for revenge.....447
Fort William.....219, 418
Fortifications, ancient.....151, 166, 296
Foster, Dr. Thomas.....13, 389
Foxes, tribe of.....125, 321, 323, 325, 341, 345, 347, 351, 353, 368, 415, 416
Fox River, Wisconsin.....345, 348, 351
France, her blunder in selling Louisiana.....108
Frazer, Mr., of Prairie du Chien.....369, 370, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415
Fremont, John C., his exploration.....46, 190, 201, 480
French, A. R., an early settler of Minnesota.....61, 250
French, B. F., his historical works referred to.....337
French voyageurs to Minnesota during 17th century.....17
Frenchman's Prairie, on Minnesota River.....262
Frontenac, Count, Governor of Canada.....24, 32, 305, 314, 358
Fruit, cultivation of.....30

PAGES.

Fur Trade of the Northwest.....118, 200, 201, 212, 342, 464
Future Life, views of the Indians on.....461

Gage, Gen. Thomas, British officer.....359
Gaine, Mrs. L. C., mission school teacher.....82
Galena, Ill., mentioned.....41, 134
Gallatin, Hon. Albert, quoted.....299
Gambling and games among Indians.....235, 280
Gamelle, Mr., of Pig's Eye, murder of his wife.....182
Game, and fur bearing animals of Minnesota.....118
Gavin, Rev. Mr., a missionary.....86, 478
Gens des Feuilles.....371, 410
Gens du Lac.....410, 415
Geography, physical, of Minnesota.....108
Geological Exploration of Featherstonhaugh and Mather.....133
" " Nicollet.....32, 34, 46, 113, 124, 133, 201, 331, 353, 417, 480
Geology of the Mississippi River.....114, 115
" " St. Louis River.....141
Gervais, Peter, an early settler of Minnesota.....61
Godfrey, Andre, an early settler of Minnesota.....61
Goethe, the poet, quoted.....359
Goodhue, James M., memoir.....245
Gooding, Capt. Geo.....422, 427
Good Road, Dakota Chief.....263, 281, 282, 290, 380
Goodrich, Hon. Aaron.....13, 77, 78, 194
Goodrich, John S., an early member of the bar.....79
Gormand, Capt., a pioneer steamboatman.....78
Grand Portage.....418
Grand Sauk Rapids, (Little Falls).....387, 406
Grant, Cuthbert, clerk of the Northwest Company.....218
Grant, a partner of Col. R. Dickson.....390, 396, 397, 398, 404, 405, 407
Grant of lands, alleged, to Carver.....362
Grant of lands to Pike, for a Reservation.....379
Great Slave Lake.....217, 223
Greeley, Elam, a pioneer lumberman of Minnesota.....478
Green Bay. (Baye des Puans) 24, 30, 49, 112, 133, 256, 291, 305, 316, 317, 341, 345, 348, 350, 420
Greenleaf, Miss, an early school teacher at Stillwater.....82
Greignor, an early Indian Trader, &c.....406
Grey Cloud Island.....319
Grey Iron, a Dakota Chief.....145, 264, 270, 281, 282, 299
Griffin, a ship built by La Salle.....94, 305
Guerin, John, a companion of Mesnard.....138
—— Vetal, of St. Paul, a pioneer of Minnesota.....61, 251

Half-breed tract, Lake Pepin.....66, 472
Hall, Rev. Mr., a Presbyterian missionary.....88
Hancock, Rev. Mr., Mission school at Red Wing.....289
Hanse, Maj., Supt. of Indian affairs.....377
Harmon, his work quoted.....298

PAGES.

Harrington, Rev. James, a Methodist missionary....87
Harrison, Samuel, agent for Carver's heirs....365
Haskell, Joseph, a pioneer farmer of Minnesota....478
Hatch, E. A. C....381
Hauteur des Terres....115, 117, 418
Hay-pee-dan, a friendly Dakota in 1812....381
Hebert, David, an early settler of Minnesota....61
Hennepin, Louis, his explorations mentioned....23, 44, 256, 257, 295, 297, 336, 338, 355
His nativity and early life....306
Becomes a Recollect Franciscan Priest....306
Fondness for hearing stories of travel....304
Is ordered to embark for Canada....304
Dispute with La Salle on ship board....304
Makes missionary tours to the Iroquois....23
Visits the Senecas....23, 305
Joins La Salle's expedition....24, 302, 305, 306
Arrives at Fort Crevecour....306
Is sent to explore the Upper Mississippi....27, 120, 196, 306
His outfit described....196, 306
Is captured by the Issantis and taken to Mille Lac....27, 120, 307, 309
Arrives at Lake Pepin....308
Hennepin's attempt to pray astonishes the Indians....307
Is forced to take sweat baths....272, 310
Endeavors to compile a vocabulary of Dakota words....265, 311
Baptises an infant....312
First discovers St. Anthony Falls....27, 308
Meets Du Luth as he is returning down the Mississippi....315
And returns with him to the Mille Lacs villages....316
Returns to Quebec with Du Luth....23, 316
Publishes an account of his adventures....29
His mendacity and exaggerations....29, 30
Herschell, Sir John....369
He-yo-kah, the anti-natural God of the Dakotas....149, 150, 268
Hildreth, Dr., quoted....112
Hillsborough, Lord, British Minister....360
Hinhanetons, tribe of....296
Historical Research, the field for, in Minnesota....43
Historical Society, Minnesota....
Sketch of its founding and growth....5
Its charter and amendment thereto....10, 11
Its officers since the organization....13
List of its earlier publications....3
The Legislature authorizes their re-issue....2
Secures rooms in the Capitol....6, 7
Lays the foundation of a building....7
Resuscitated after several years' dormancy....8
Its prosperous career since....8
Present condition of its library and cabinet....8

PAGES.

Address of Hon. Alex. Ramsey at its Annual Meeting 43
Should investigate origin and history of Indian Tribes 46-7-8-9
What its library should contain 50
Influence of such institutions on the people 52
Dakota lexicon published under its patronage 6, 265
Holds a centenary of Carver's alleged Treaty 355
Hobart, Rev. C., pioneer clergyman and teacher 82, 87
Hohays, a revolted Tribe of Dakotas 48, 296
Hoh-tchungh-grahs, or Winnebagoes 49
Hokah, or Root River 32, 291
Holcomb, Wm., a pioneer of Minnesota 53, 55, 56
Hole-in-the-Day, Sr 94, 146
Hole-in-the-Day, Jr 254
Hollinshead, Wm., ... 251
Holmes, D. T., an early settler of Minnesota 61
Hopkins, Rev. R., drowned 267, 477
Hosford, Miss, a pioneer teacher 82
Houghton, Dr., botanist and geologist 125
Hoyt, Rev. B. F., pioneer clergyman 251
Hubbard, D. W., cuts first tree for huts at Mendota 473
Huddleston, Rev. Mr., a Methodist Missionary 85
Hudson, Henry, discovers Hudson's Bay 207
Hudson's Bay Company, Its charter granted by Charles II 216
Its tyranny and usurpations 216, 217, 222, 235, 241
Unites with the Northwest Company 235
Hudson's Bay Region:
Paper on its History, Ethnology, &c., by Rev. G. A. Belcourt 207
Discovery of Hudson's Bay, by Henry Hudson 207
First settlement of the region by English 207
Murder of a Surveyor and Priest at Hudson's Bay 209
War between French and English 208, 213
The English obtain possession of the region 212
The fur trade and traders 214
The Northwestern Company formed 215
Fight between Gov. Semple and the latter 218
Lord Selkirk takes Fort William 219
Catholic missions established 219
Troubles of the settlers, famine, floods, excessive cold, &c 220-1
The Northwest Company unites with the Hudson's Bay Company 223
The missions of the Catholic Church 223
Population of Selkirk's Settlement 224
The half-breeds; their habits and vices 224
The soil, climate, &c 226
Alexis Bailly imports a drove of cattle 469
Failure of crops, in 1819 470
Feed imported from Prairie du Chien 470
Huggins, Mr., a Missionary to the Dakotas 85, 477
Hughes, James, a pioneer printer and publisher, and lawyer 79, 253

PAGES.

Humphrey, James K., an early lawyer of Minnesota.....80
Hunt, Capt. Thomas,.....435
Hunt, Lieut. Wellington.....438
Hurlbut, Rev. Mr., a Methodist Missionary.....78, 88
Huron, Lake.....19
Hurons, Tribe of.....18, 336
Hurtzell, Levi, a pioneer of Minnesota.....58

Iberville, a French officer.....33
Ihanktonwans, or Yanktons, which see.....
Illinois, Tribe of.....307, 341, 344
Illinois River.....306, 321, 322, 341, 342
Indian Agent, at Fort Snelling.....494
Indian Languages—See "Languages," &c.....
Indian Murderers, surrendered at Fort Snelling.....494
Indian Traders, their character considered.....462
Personal notices of.....466, 467, 468
Indian Tribes, proposal to make them amenable to civil laws.....66
Destiny of the.....69, 132, 462
Education desirable for the.....91
Should be placed in a distinct territory.....130
Their ancient mounds and monuments.....144
Confederated to fight against the United States in 1812.....199
Of British North America.....225
Equality of Property amongst.....444
Bad faith in adhering to bargains made.....363
General character of the Indian portrayed.....458
Mortality from their warfare overestimated.....460
Their reliance on the traders.....465
Their honesty before the whites had corrupted them.....466
Indian women, their strength, endurance, hardships, &c.....155, 167
Indians, of Minnesota; see "Dakotas," "Ojibwas," "Winnebagoes," &c.....
Initiation as a Medicine Man.....270
Iowas, (or Ayavois), Tribe of 45, 46, 48, 144, 259, 296, 297, 299, 300, 321, 328, 330, 331, 332, 342, 345.....
Iroquois, nation of.....23, 120, 135, 258, 314, 316, 317, 336
Irvine, John R., a pioneer of Minnesota.....251
Isbister, Mr., an attorney in England.....242, 243
Isle of La Crosse, (Hudson's Bay).....232
Isle Pelee.....319
Isseti, or Isanti, Tribe of.....27, 28, 45, 94, 120, 256, 257, 295, 296, 299, 309
Itasca, proposed as a name for Minnesota Territory.....482
Itasca Lake.....114, 129, 163, 165, 417, 418, 419, 479

Jackson, Henry, a pioneer of Minnesota.....56, 250, 251, 484
Jacobs, Horace, an early setter of Minnesota.....55
James River, (or a Jacques) Dakota Territory.....149, 259
Jearreau, Mr., of Cohokia.....415
Jefferson, President, sets on foot expeditions.....121, 471

PAGES.

Jesuit Missions, Kip's work on, quoted....28, 300
Jesuit missionaries....18, 19, 214
Johnson, George, Interpreter for Schoolcraft....126
—— John, a Methodist missionary....85
—— R. B., a pioneer of Minnesota....60
Johnson, Sir Wm....359
Joliet, the early explorer....28, 120
Jones, Amos, mission school teacher at Kaposia....81
Jones, Gen. G. W., Delegate from Michigan Territory....53, 71, 72
Judges of the Supreme Court of Minnesota, appointed....78
Judicial Districts in Minnesota, in 1849....79

Kaposia, or Little Crow's village and band, 34, 36, 81, 82, 85, 175, 182, 199, 254, 264, 276, 282, 287, 290, 309, 377, 411, 438, 487.
Kavenaugh, Rev. B. F., a Methodist missionary....85
—— Rev. H., a Methodist missionary....85
Keating, Wm. H., the explorer and author, quoted....32, 46, 201, 263, 320, 431
Kennedy, Robert, an early settler of Minnesota....56
Kennerman, a Sergeant of Pike's party....388
Keoxa, or Ki-yuk-sa, band of Dakotas....263, 264, 370
Kettle River....182
Keweenaw Portage, Lake Superior....20, 44, 137
Khoyapa, or Eagle Head, a Dakota....449, 452
Kickapoos, or Quincapous, Tribe of....321, 341
Killeur, a warrior of the Warpekutes....391, 405, 410
Kings, Rev. David, missionary and teacher at Koposia....81, 85
Kip's Jesuit Missions, quoted....28, 300
Kittson, Norman W., a pioneer of Minnesota....469
Knapp, Hon. J. G., of Wisconsin, quoted....54
Knife Portage, St. Louis River....141, 142
Knisteneaux, Tribe of....135

Labothe, Francois, early trader, &c....469
Lac de Pleurs, why so called....27
Lac qui Parle, ...81, 85, 89, 134, 149, 150, 208, 259, 260, 300, 375, 476, 477
La Crosse, Prairie....373, 414
La Fleche, Rev. S., early missionary to Hudson's Bay....222
La Frambroise, Joseph, Indian trader....390, 469
La Grange, or Barn's Bluff....264, 413
La Harpe's work on Louisiana, quoted....257, 319, 320, 335
La Hontan, Baron....30, 32, 45, 121, 256, 258, 284, 295, 296
Lake Buade, (or Mille Lac)....314
Lake Calhoun....263, 476, 477
Lake Conde (Superior)....315
Lake de Sable....392, 397, 398
Lake Harriet....81, 85
Lake of the Woods....48, 115, 117, 125, 212, 237, 257, 301, 417
Lake Pepin,....27, 66, 116, 197, 262, 264, 299, 325, 352, 361, 362, 374, 413, 414

PAGES.

Lake Superior....19, 20, 21, 315
Lake St. Clair....317
Lake Traverse....134, 146, 260, 286, 390, 469, 476
Lake Winnepie....401
Lake Winnebago, Wis....351
Lake Winnepeg....194
Lakes of Minnesota, estimated at 10,000....116
Lambert, David, a pioneer of Minnesota....53, 55, 240, 484
Lament of an Indian mother over a dead child....277
Land offices, located at Stillwater and Willow River, Wis....65
Language, human, ultimate unity of....93
Languages of the Indian Tribes, Importance of preserving....51, 107
Of the Dakotas....93, 264, 336, 361
Of the Ojibwas....231, 240
Some aboriginal languages perished....93
Difficulty of learning Indian Tongues....231, 240, 264, 311
The Dakota lexicon....105, 197, 265, 311, 370
Of the Ojibwa lexicon....240
La Pointe, Wisconsin....21, 84, 138, 153, 170, 319, 346
Larpenteur, A. L., an early settler of Minnesota....56, 250, 484
Larrabee, Hon. Charles H., of Wisconsin....54
La Salle, Cavalier; living in Canada in 1673....22
Conceives a short overland route to China and Japan....23
Receives a permit from Louis XIV to trade and explore....23
Dispatches a small vessel to Niagara River....23, 305
Builds a ship for a western voyage....23, 305
Account of his voyage to Green Bay....24, 305
Goes to Milwaukee and Illinois River....25
Visits encampment of Indians at Lake Peoria....25
Erects a fort and builds a barge....26
Orders Hennepin to explore Upper Mississippi....27, 196, 306
Murdered by a member of his own party....32, 109
His ability and greatness referred to....120
Schoolcraft names a lake for him....127
His dispute with Hennepin on ship board....304
General references to him....305, 314
Law, John, and the Mississippi scheme....35
Lawyers, in Minnesota in 1849....79
Lea, Hon. Luke,....472
Leach, Calvin, a pioneer of Minnesota....56
Lead mines of Galena and Dubuque....323
Leaf River....113
Leavenworth, Col. Henry....364, 420, 422, 423, 424, 426, 472
Ledyard, the African Traveller, mentioned....109, 123
Leech Lake....81, 84, 122, 161, 167, 168, 171, 345, 399, 401, 404, 418
Legend of the Creation....267
Le Grand Partisan, a Dakota Warrior....380
Le Sueur, Town of....380

PAGES
Le Sueur, the Explorer, his work quoted.....279, 293, 295, 296, 297, 342, 344, 354
First explorer of the Minnesota River.....319
Commissioned by Gov. Frontenac in 1693, &c.....319
Deputed to build a fort on the upper Mississippi.....32
Erects a fort on Gray Cloud Island in 1695.....319
Brings news of mines of lead and copper in Sioux country.....33, 320
Returns to Montreal with two Dakotas.....320
Makes unsuccessful efforts to explore the mines.....33, 134, 320
Goes to France for permit to work the mines.....320
Is sent by Iberville to explore the mines.....33, 340
He starts on his voyage to Minnesota.....321
Reaches the River St. Pierre.....326
And names it for Capt. St. Pierre.....34, 328
Reaches Mankato, or Blue Earth River, and builds a fort.....34, 45, 261, 328
Names the Fort L'Huillier.....330
Digs for what he supposes copper ore.....34, 45, 337
Fills three canoes with "blue and green earth".....331
And carries a quantity to France.....35, 321, 337
Attends a great feast by the Mantantons.....334
The truthfulness and accuracy of his journal.....45, 336
His classification of the Dakota nation.....257, 260
Lewis, Capt.....411
Lewis, Dr., mission school teacher.....82, 86
Lewis & Clarke's expedition.....124
Lexicon of the Dakota language.....105, 197, 265, 311, 370
—— of the Ojibwa tongue.....240
L'Huillier Fort.....331, 337, 345
Liquor, among the Indians.....441
Little Crow, his village, or Kaposia, mentioned.....36, 56 263, 264, 378
Incident in McKenney & Hall's work.....36, 200
His speech to H. R. Schoolcraft in 1832.....175
Heads a war party against Lake Pokeguma.....178
Is present at seige of Fort Meigs.....199, 381
His Dakota name translated.....264
His wives.....279
Makes a speech to Pike.....373
Signs the grant of lands.....382
Finds Pike's flag.....389
Apologises to Pike for bad conduct of his tribe.....411
Little Falls, Mississippi River.....173
Little Rapids, Minnesota River.....260, 468
Little Six, or Shakopee.....263, 281, 282, 380
Little Soldier, an Ojibwa warrior.....447, 448, 454
Little Winnepeg Lake.....82, 86, 161
Long River, see "Riviere Longue".....
Long, Col. Stephen H., his exploration, 46, 124, 200, 223, 263, 316, 320, 335, 420, 430, 439, 479.....
Loomis, Col., a pious army officer.....86

PAGES.

Loomis, Mr., a pioneer lumberman....478
L'Original Leve, see "Tah-mah-haw."....
Louis XIV....196, 317
Louis XVI, his blunder in ceding New France....108
Louisiana, cession of, by France....108
L'Rone....408
Lull, C. P. V., early settler of St. Paul....250, 252
Lumbering, pioneer....469, 478

Mackey, Lieut., an early explorer....123
Mackinaw, or Missilimackinac,....24, 133, 305, 316, 318, 348, 350, 358, 360, 377
Mahas, tribe of, see Omahas....
Mankato River....34, 340
Mandans, tribe of....298, 300
Mantantons, tribe of....332, 334, 336, 354
Marest, Father Gabriel, early missionary priest....321, 327
Marine Mills....66, 354, 478
Marquette, Father....21, 22, 49, 120, 127, 307
Marriage customs among Dakota Indians....278
Martin, Morgan L., of Wis....492
Marryatt, Capt., visits Minnesota....482
Mascoutens, tribe of....321, 341, 344
Masterson, Henry F., an early settler of Minnesota....252
Maskegon Indians....227, 228
Mather, Cotton, quoted....266
—— Prof. Wm. W., geologist and explorer....133, 481
McComb, James D., early settler of Minnesota....55, 61
McDonald, D., an early settler of Minnesota....61
McDonald, Richard, an early settler of Minnesota....61
McGillis, Hugh, a British trader,....400, 401, 406, 404
McGregory, Maj., of Albany....317, 318
McKenney & Hall's Work on Indians, quoted....36, 431
McKinstry, H. K., an early settler in Minnesota....55
McKusick, J. E., a pioneer of Minnesota....53, 55, 478
McLaughlin, John W., an early settler in Minnesota....61
McLean, Nathaniel....252
McLeod, Alexander, an early settler at St. Paul....484
McLeod, Martin, a pioneer of Minnesota....89, 469
McNamara, C., of Minnesota....35
McReynolds, Rev. Mr., a Methodist Missionary....85
McTavish, Simon, a trader of Hudson's Bay....215
Mde-wakan-ton-wans, tribe of Dakotas. 45, 47, 48, 94, 120, 257, 260, 261, 263, 269, 296, 308, 330, 331, 335....
Medical science among the Dakotas....271, 273, 310
Medicine dance....329
Medicine men....167, 229, 269, 272, 283
Meeker, Bradley B., appointed Judge of Supreme Court....78
Meigs, Josiah, Commissioner of General Land Office....364
Memorial of D'Iberville....339

PAGES.
Mendota (or St. Peters).....41, 79, 85, 145, 200, 257, 275, 420
Menomonees, (or Fols Avoin).....250, 270
Merrick, Rev. Mr., Episcopal Missionary.....88
Mesnard, Rene, an early Jesuit Missionary.....20, 44, 135, 136, 137, 138
Metesigamias, tribe of.....321
Methodist missions. 85, 140
Mexico, conquest of.....119
Miamis, nation of.....307, 308, 341
Michigan, State of, cited as a precedent.....53, 72
Michilimackinac, see "Mackinac."
Mille Lac, (Spirit Lake, or Knife Lake), 47, 85, 120, 144, 179, 197, 257, 261, 265, 272, 295, 302, 309, 314, 315, 336, 345.....
Milo, voyageur and interpreter.....184, 275
Mines, supposed copper ore near Mankato.....33, 34, 35, 45, 184, 321, 340
Galena lead mines mentioned by Le Sueur.....322
Of copper and lead on Chippewa River.....325
Minetarees, tribe of.....300
Minnesota; [For Chronological index of events, see page 487].....
Description of climate, soil, &c., of the State.....27, 109, 111, 239
Its boundaries and area..... 37, 109
Characteristics of its physical geography.....38, 109
Its lakes, timber, etc.....38, 238
Game, the subsistence of the Indian population.....38
Richness of the soil.....38, 39, 109, 173, 239
The Indian population disappearing.....39
Probable supply of coal and minerals.....39
The pine regions and the lumbering interest 40
The climate; navigation of the Mississippi, &c.....40, 111
The principal towns in 1850 described.....41
The morality of its people.....42, 60
Its field for research by the Historical Society.....43, 44
Its early explorers.....44
Later explorations and surveys.....46
Warfare of the various Indian tribes.....46
Number of Lawyers in the Territory in 1851.....81
Early schools in Minnesota.....81, 82, 83
Early missions and churches in Minnesota.....84
Its history and physical geography.....108
Meaning of the name.....110, 197
Health and longevity of the climate.....112
Its geology and mineralogy.....114, 115
Lakes—area suited to agriculture, &c. 117
The fur bearing region.....118
Minnesota Historical Society, see "Historical Society."
Minnesota River.....31, 34, 197, 310, 353, 356
Missions, earliest in Minnesota.....84, 487
Of the M. E. church.....85
Of the Oberlin missionary society.....86

PAGES.

Of Swiss, at Mt. Trempeleau....86
Of the Baptist, Congregational and Presbyterian churches....87
Of the Episcopal church....88
Of the Catholics to Selkirk's settlement....219, 222, 236, 237, 240, 241
Mission schools among the Indians....81, 289
Missionary work among the Indians....164, 166, 170, 177, 204, 427
Mississippi River, first heard of by the French explorers....21
Marquette descends it some distance in a canoe....22, 120
Hennepin sent to explore its upper waters....27
Navigation of, length of the season....40
The exploration of its sources by Schoolcraft, referred to....44, 125
Flows 1000 miles in and by Minnesota....110
Its banks within Minnesota; water power, &c....113
Its origin, character, and course, generally considered....114
Its source, Lake Itasca, 3000 miles from mouth....114, 417
Discovered by Narvaez and De Soto....119
Characteristics of the upper Mississippi....160, 378
Wm. Morrison claims to discover its source....417
Mississippi scheme of John Law....35
Missouri River....321, 332
Mitchell, Col. A. M., Territorial officer....79
Mojou, Joseph, a voyageur....331
Monroe, President....424
Montagnes, nation of....226, 228
Months of the year, in Dakota....292
Monuments, ancient....298
Mooers, Hazen, trader, &c....469
Moose, the, its scarcity and value....118
Morgan, John, a pioneer settler of Minnesota....61
Morran, Francis, an early settler of Minnesota....61
Morrison, Allan, Indian Trader....417, 470
Morrison, Wm., Indian Trader....417
Mortality from Indian warfare overestimated....460
Moss, H. L., an early Territorial officer of Minnesota....55, 79
Mounds, Indian, or aboriginal....145, 149, 150, 298
Mountains, near Fond du Lac....140
Mourning for the dead among Indians....294, 446
Mower, Mr., a pioneer Lumberman....478
Murder, early trials for....79
Of the Tully family, by the Sioux....432
By the Dakotas, of soldiers and others....476
Murphy, Maj. R. G., early settler of Minnesota....253
Musquakee Indians....46
Musketoes, their number and voracity....156, 160
Mythology of the Dakotas....267

Narvaez discovers mouth of Mississippi....119, 129
Nashville, Tennessee....339
Natchez, the expedition of Le Sueur against....337

PAGES.

Naudowessies, early name for Sioux....45, 120, 256, 257, 262, 297, 316
Navigation of the Mississippi River....40, 108
Neill. Rev. Edward D.,. 6, 7, 13, 17, 45, 87, 135, 196, 245, 250, 252, 445
Nelson, Socrates, a pioneer of Minnesota....55
Newcombe, Rev. C. A., a Methodist Missionary....87
New Mexico, a sequence of the Louisana purchase 108
New Orleans....319
New, or Nouvelle, France....108, 121, 208
Newspaper, the first in Minnesota....250
Nez Corbeau, a Dakota Chief....416
Niagara....303, 305
Nicholas, an early Missionary to Lake Superior.. 21
Nicollet, Jean N., a French savan, his views of La Hontan....31
His report to Congress quoted....32, 34, 46, 113, 114, 124, 129, 201, 331, 353
His memoir, by Hon. H. H. Sibley....183
Hir birth, early years and education....184
His Mathematical and Astronomical studies....185
Emigrates to the U. S....187
Explores the upper Mississippi in 1835....187, 417, 480
Is employed by the U. S. Government....189, 480
Had collected material for a work on Minnesota....191
Decline of his health from over work....192
His death at Washington City, in 1844....193
Letter from Mr. Nicollet, to H. H. Sibley, in 1837....194
Niobrarah Reservation.... 371
Nobles, Rev. L., a Methodist Missionary....87
Nobles, Wm. H., an early settler....250
Norris, J. S., a pioneer farmer of Minnesota,....61, 478
Northrup, Hon. Anson, a pioneer of Minnesota....55
Northwest, opened to settlement by the war of 1812....123
Northwest Trading Co.,....122, 215, 217, 219, 221, 377, 397, 399, 470
Number of Indian Tribes in Minnesota....460

Oak Grove....144, 263, 281, 289, 299, 380, 438
Oanktayhee, principal God of the Dakotas....267
Oberlin Missions and Missionaries in Minnesota....85
Oblats, of Marseilles, Society of....222, 223
Ogden, Maj. Edmund A....437
Ojibwas, Chippewas, or Saulteurs:
Romish Priests visit them at outlet of Lake Superior in 1641....19, 301
Planning war against Dakotas in 1665....21
French furnish them with improved weapons and fire arms....47
Originally emigrated from the East....50
Called by the Dakotas "People of the falls"....50, 301
Mr. Ayer's mission work among them....86
Strength and endurance of the Squaws....155, 163
Superstitious offering to the Manitou....157
Their manner of disposing of their dead....158, 159
Their manner of mourning for the dead....446

PAGES.

The tobacco dance....162
The scalp dance....164
Their battles and warfare with the Dakotas,21, 36, 46, 47, 125, 131, 146, 161, 164, 166 177, 254
Missions and mission work in the nation....177
Battle of Lake Pokeguma....177
Signification of the name Ojibwa, or Okjibwek....228, 301
Tokens or family symbols....233
Their religious meeting, or national feast....229
Mode of curing sickness....229, 231
Necromancy, or clairvoyance....230
Habit of dreaming, and interpreting the same....230
Their language, its copiousness....231
Hieroglyphical writing....232
Knowledge of astronomy, legend of the creation....233
Passion for gaming and drink....235
Cannibalism....235
Traditions concerning their origin....301
Their war with the Foxes....345, 368
Battle at the Falls of St. Croix....346
Battle at the mouth of Minnesota....368
Curious record of a battle....396
Pike's estimate of their character....405
Their ideas of polygamy and adultery....407
Some Ojibwas murdered at Fort Snelling by Dakotas in 1827,....434, 442, 445, 472
Old Settlers' Association of Minnesota....61
Olmsted, David, a pioneer of Minnesota....13, 250
Omahas, (or Mahas)....49, 94, 259, 297, 300, 332, 342
Oneidas, Nation of,....170
Onontio, Indian name for the Governor of Canada....287
Ordinance of 1787....71, 109
Oregon River, Carver's ideas concerning it....121
Organization of Minnesota Territory....53
Orthography of the word "Minnesota" fixed,....59
Osages, tribe of....94, 300, 321
Otesse, Mr., an early trader....418
Otoes, tribe of....49, 297, 300, 328, 342
Otoctatas....328, 330, 331, 332
Ottawas, tribe of....226, 317
Otter Tail Lake....117
Ouadebathons, or River People....257, 258, 336
Ouasicoude, head chief of Mde-wakan-ton-wans....316
Ouisconsin River, see "Wisconsin River."
Oujalespoitons....330, 332
Ourry, Thomas, early trader on the Saskatchewan River....213
Outagamies—see "Foxes."
Outard Blanche, a Sioux Chief....383, 384
Owens, John P., a pioneer editor of Minnesota....252
Osawindib, or Yellow Head, an Ojibwa Chief....126, 129

PAGES.

Pa-mid-gi-gum-aug Lake, or "Cross Water".....127
Pangman, P., a Hudson Bay trader.....215
Paper, writing, scarcity of, at Fort Snelling in 1820-21.....474
Paoutees, or Pawnees.....321
Parsons, Rev. J. P., a Baptist Missionary.....87
Patton, James, an early settler of Minnesota.....61
Pa-zhe-hu-ta-ze (Yellow Medicine) River.....151
Pembina, river, mountain, &c.....41, 125, 161, 221, 223, 239, 244, 470
Penicaut, companion of Le Sueur.....85, 337
Perlier, or Paulier, an early Indian trader.....198, 397, 408, 409
Perrot, early explorer.....197, 339, 353
Peters, Dr. Samuel.....349, 365, 366, 367
Petit Corbeau—see "Little Crow".....
Phalon, Edward, an early settler of Minnesota.....61
Phalon, Michael, an early settler of St. Paul.....61
Phillips, Wm. D., an early settler of Minnesota.....79
Physical Geography of Minnesota.....108
Pierce, Allen, an early settler of Minnesota.....250
Pigeon River, Lake Superior.....337, 314
Pig's Eye, battle of.....182
Pig's Eye settlement.....263, 264, 309, 377
Pike, Zebulon M., his work quoted.....262, 358, 418, 419, 471
His expedition to the Upper Mississippi in 1805.....46, 378
Set on foot by President Jefferson.....121, 471
Ascends the Mississippi in batteaux.....122, 368
Visits the lead mines near Dubuque.....368
Arrives at Prairie du Chien.....369, 198
Is entertained by Wabasha.....371
Arrives at St. Peters and encamps on Pike's Island.....378
Holds a council with chiefs, &c.....379
Obtains a grant of land.....379, 381, 471
Loses his flag in the river.....382
Makes the portage of St. Anthony Falls.....384
Arrives at Little Falls.....387
Goes into winter quarters at Pine Creek.....122, 388
Starts for Leach Lake overland.....396
Reaches Sandy Lake.....397
Arrives at Leach Lake.....399, 418
Overhauls the N. W. Trading Co.'s officers.....122, 399
They promise obedience, &c.....401
He starts on return trip.....408
Arrives at Pike's Island and holds a council.....410
Persuades the Dakotas and Ojibwas to make peace.....439
Reaches Prairie du Chien.....415
"Pike's Tree" destroyed.....429
Loses his life at the capture of Little York, 1813.....472
Pike's Island.....379, 410, 430, 466
Pillager Chippewas, band of.....130, 161, 170, 418
Pilot Knob.....145

PAGES.

Pine Creek, Pike's winter encampment....122
Pine River....395
Pineries, of Minnesota....40
Pinichon, or Pinneshaw, a Dakota Chief....262, 379, 380
Pinichon, Fils de....379, 380
Pioneer, (newspaper) St. Paul; established....250
Pioneers of the Northwest, their trials and adventures....51
Pipe Stone Quarry....190, 259, 296, 297, 386, 480
Plants, wild, used as food by Indians....234
Plessis, Rev. Joseph, Bishop of Quebec....219
Plympton, Capt. Joseph....435
Poage, Miss Sarah, a mission teacher....81
Poinsett, Hon. J. R....189
Point Douglass, village of....41, 66, 82, 87, 88
Point La Sable, Lake Pepin....353, 375
Pokeguma, Battle of....177, 276
Pokeguma, Lake....81, 84, 86, 126, 160
Pekeguma River....404
Pokeguma Falls....198
Polk, James K., President of the United States, memorial to....59
Polygamy, among the Indians....312, 339, 406
Pond, Peter, an early trader of Hudson's Bay....214, 215
Pond, Rev. G. H., an early Missionary, 51, 85, 105, 144, 197, 261, 269, 281, 289, 370, 438, 477
Pond, Rev. S. W., early Missionary....81, 85, 477
Pope, Rev. J. W., Methodist Missionary....85
Population of Minnesota in 1848....59, 74
Portage between Wisconsin and Fox Rivers....323, 351
Portages, how burdens are carried....128, 154, 196
On St. Louis River....142
Between Stone and Lake Traverse....470
Prairie du Chien, Wis., mentioned....112, 130, 199, 230, 262, 348, 351, 369, 370, 378, 409, 415, 490, 421, 423, 426, 435, 440, 468, 470, 480.
Prairie la Fleche....380
Pre-historic races, their remains, &c....485
Prescott, Philander, a pioneer of Minnesota....274, 469
Provencalle, Louis, early trader....466, 469, 481
Provencher, Rev. J. N., a missionary to Selkirk's Settlement....219, 240
Puans, (or Winnebagoes)....49, 323
Putnam, Rev. J. W., a Methodist missionary....87

Quebec....19, 20, 108, 121, 219, 240, 291
Quincapous, (or Kickapoos)....323
Quinn, Peter, a pioneer of Minnesota....61, 145, 262

Rainy Lake....115, 125, 212, 238, 241, 301
Ramsey, Hon. Alex.,....13, 43, 78, 182, 336, 472
Rattle snakes, described by Le Sueur....325
Raven, a chief of the Fox tribe....369
Ravoux, Rev. A., early Catholic clergyman....84, 251

PAGES.

Red Bird, a chief of the Winnebagoes....435
Red Cedar Lake....396, 399, 400, 403, 404, 418
Red Lake....47, 82, 86, 159, 167
Red River, floods, &c....220, 221, 480
Red River settlement....39, 41, 109, 168, 470
Red Rock....81, 85
Red Thunder, a Chief of the Yanktons....416
Red Wing, village of....81, 85, 86, 147, 263, 289, 316
——— a Dakota Chief....305, 376, 390, 412, 414
Religious belief of Indians....282, 266, 293, 461
Reminiscences, historical and personal, by H. H. Sibley....457
Remnica, or Red Wing....264, 289
Renards, or Tribe of Foxes....125, 321, 323, 325, 341, 345, 347, 351, 353, 368, 415, 416
Renville, A., relates a tradition....94
Renville, Joseph....196, 260, 270, 287, 466, 405
Resh, Joseph, an early settler of Minnesota....61
Ribourde, a Franciscan Priest....506
Rice, Hon. Edmund, an early settler of Minnesota....79
Rice, Hon. H. M., a pioneer of Minnesota....13, 470
Rice Lake....418
Rice River....418
Rice, wild....116, 118, 160, 168, 171, 176, 261, 335, 377, 397
Riggs, Rev. S. R., Missionary to the Dakotas....51, 85, 89, 105, 149, 265, 276, 370, 477
Riviere Longue, of La Hontan....30, 45, 121, 256
Roberts, Capt. Louis, a pioneer of Minnesota....55, 61, 250
Rock, Augustus....469
Rodgers, Maj., in command at Mackinac....250, 260
Rolette, Mr., of Prairie du Chien....413, 415
Roman Catholic Church, first plants Christianity in Minnesota....84
Roman Nose, or Nez Corbeau, a Dakota Chief....412, 413, 416
Rondo, Joseph, a pioneer of Minnesota....61
Roseboom, a trader among the Ottawas....317
Rosseau, Oliver, an early settler of Minnesota....61
——— Pierre, an interpreter....178
Roy, Mr. a Canadian, entertains Pike....401, 405
Rudsdell, John, companion of Cameron....376
Rum River....296, 309, 316, 409, 474
Running the gauntlet....439, 448, 475
Russell, Jeremiah, a pioneer of Minnesota....178

Sacs and Foxes, Tribe of....125, 175, 323, 345, 426, 460
Sagandoshee, or "Englishman," a Dakota....450
Saint Anthony, the patron Saint of La Salle's expedition....24, 44, 312
Saint Anthony Falls....27, 30, 41, 44, 104, 113, 121, 338, 354, 355, 356, 362, 364, 409, 422, 250
Saint Anthony town....30, 41, 79, 82, 87
St. Antoine, Charles, survivor of the Selkirk Seed party....471
Saint Croix, county....79
——— Falls....179, 346
——— River....34, 40, 82, 176, 263, 314, 315, 327, 354, 376, 378, 413

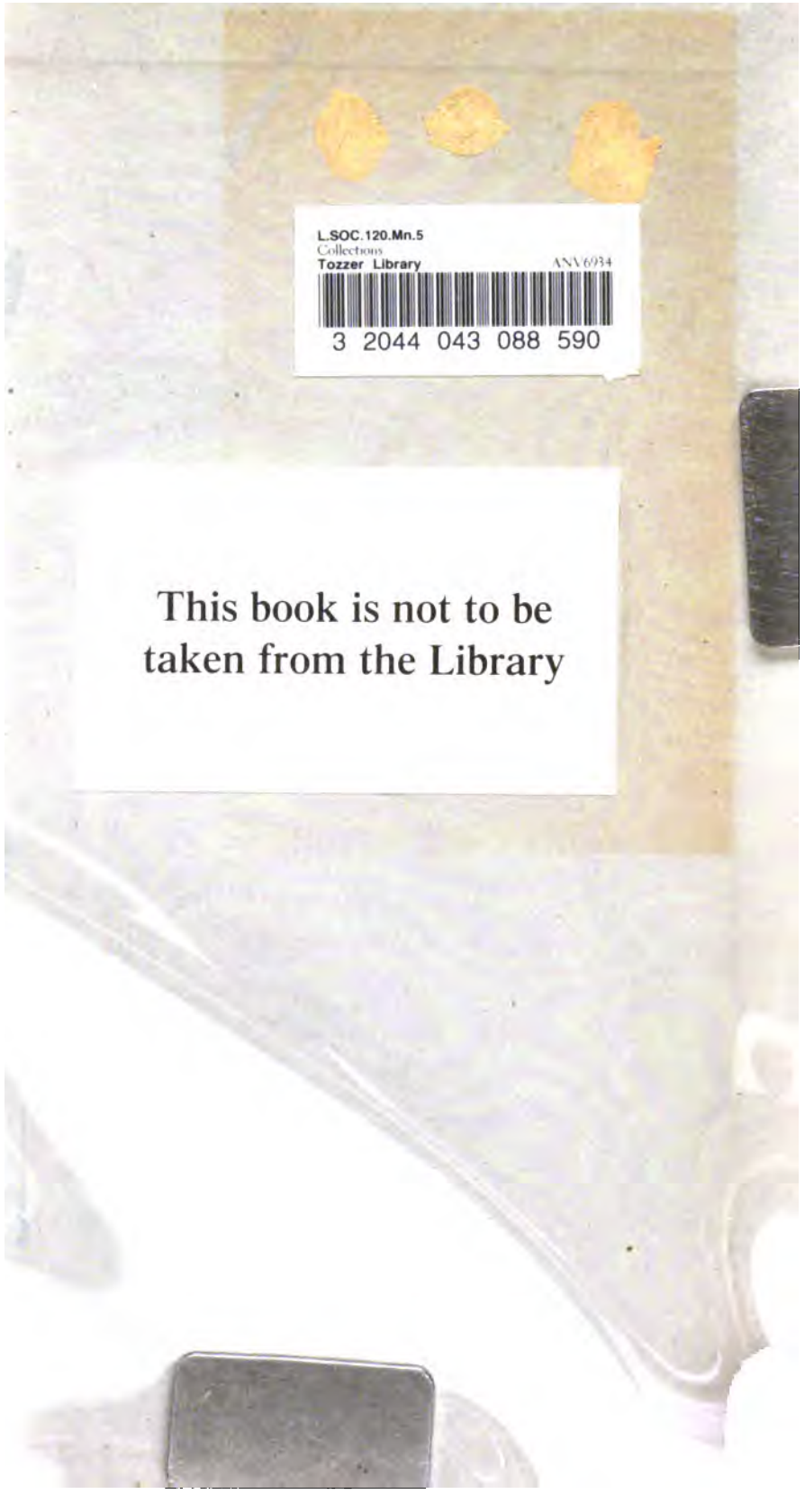
PAGES.

Saint Francis.....18
—— River.....28, 191
St. Germain, Sieur, an early trader.....257
Saint Ignace.....190
Saint Joseph's.....120, 239
Saint Louis, city of.....134, 422
—— River.....66, 115, 117, 139, 141, 154, 296
Saint Martin, Paschal, an early resident of Minnesota.....61
Saint Paul.....41, 53, 80, 82, 83, 87, 88, 239, 245, 247, 249, 254, 291, 309, 349, 354, 484
Saint Paul's, mission of, on Assiniboine River.....241
Saint Pierre, Captain, an early explorer.....34, 328, 353
—— River (Minnesota).....34, 110, 121, 124, 327, 335, 355, 356, 368
Sandy Lake.....81, 84, 85, 122, 123, 126, 158, 168, 346, 396, 407, 479
Saskatchewan River.....115, 212, 215, 222, 226, 227, 241
Saugiestas, tribe of.....331
Sauk Rapids.....41, 80, 178, 258, 259, 345
Sauks, or Ozaukies, tribe of.....46, 126, 323, 345, 347, 351, 368
Sault Ste. Marie, or St. Mary's Falls.....19, 50, 120, 153, 170, 301
Saulteurs, or "Ojibwas," which see.....1
Savannah River.....141, 157, 158
Scalp dance, and mode of preparing scalp.....164, 275, 276
Schiller's poems mentioned.....359
Schoolcraft, Henry R., his exploration of the source of the Mississippi River....44, 46, 108, 125, 153, 162, 165, 169, 417.
Schools, in Minnesota.....81
Scofield, Miss, a pioneer school teacher.....82
Scott, Captain Martin.....433
Scott, Gen. Winfield.....425, 432
Scurvy at Fort Snelling, in 1819–20.....422, 473
Seal, of the State described.....255
Seccombe, Rev. Mr., a Presbyterian Missionary.....88
Secret Societies among the Indians.....264, 372
Selkirk, Lord.....390
Selkirk's Settlement.....41, 109, 217, 219, 220, 432, 470
Semple, Governor, of Hudson's Bay region.....218
Seneca Indians.....23, 170, 259, 316, 318
Sevigny, Father, early Missionary to Hudson's Bay.....
Sevis, Chevalier.....211
Seymour, Mrs., a pioneer mission teacher.....81
Shakpedan, or Shakopee, (Little Six,) a Dakota Chief.....263, 281, 282, 330
Shakopee, town of.....299, 356
Shawnees, tribe of.....338
Sheyenne River.....226
Sheyennes, tribe of.....46, 47, 296, 299
Sibley, Hon. H. H.....13, 37, 55, 58, 61, 64, 69, 88, 134, 186, 194, 375, 457
Simons, Orlando, an early settler of St. Paul.....262
Simpson, Governor, of Hudson's Bay region.....241, 242, 243
Simpson, J. W., a pioneer of Minnesota.....60
Sinclair, James, of Red River.....242

PAGES.

Sioux, nation of,—see "Dakotas."
Sissitonwans, tribe of....94, 141, 260, 286, 296, 336, 410, 424
Sky Man, a Dakota Chief....263, 281 282
Slade, Gov., of Vermont, sends teachers to Minnesota....82
Slate, on the Saint Louis River....142
Sloan, David T., an early settler of Minnesota....61
Small Pox; its ravages among the Indians....214
Smith, Charles K., early officer of the Society, &c....13, 77, 79
Smith, Hon. Robert Smith, of Illinois....66
Smith, Capt., an early steamboatman....250
Smoky Day, a Dakota Chief....146
Snake River....84, 177, 346
Snelling, Col. Josiah....200, 422, 425, 429, 433, 435, 436, 437, 447, 449, 475
Snelling, Fort, See "Fort Snelling."
Snelling, Mrs. Abagail Snelling....425, 426, 427, 428
Snelling, Wm. J....439
Society of St. Thomas, Canterbury, England....243, 244
Songasquitons, (or Chongasketons,) Tribe of....336
Spates, Rev. S. a Methodist Missionary....85
Spencer, Rev. Mr., mission school teacher....82, 86
Spirit Lake, or Knife Lake (Mille Lac)....295
Split Lip, a Dakota....453, 454, 455
Steam baths as a cure among the Dakotas....272
Steamboat, arrival of first....429, 477
Steele, Franklin, a pioneer of Minnesota....55, 251, 469, 484
Stevens, Rev. Enos, a Methodist Missionary....85
Stevens, Rev. J. D., a missionary to the Indians....87
Stillwater, Minn....41, 53, 55, 65, 66, 79, 80, 82, 87, 250
Stillwater, New York, alleged birth-place of Carver....349
Stinchfield, Wm., an early settler of Minnesota....61
Stockbridges, Tribe of....170
Stone Heaps, Aborginal, at Red Wing....147
Suicides among Dakota Squaws....288, 293
Supreme Court of Minnesota....78, 79
Sylvie, Father, early Missionary to Hudson's Bay....211
Swan River....160, 419
Sweet, an Ojibwa Chief....400, 402

Tache, Rev. Als, Bishop of Ruperts Land....222
Tah-mah-haw, or "Tah-ha-mie," a Dakota....379, 380, 382
Takoha, a war prophet....144
Taliaferro, Maj. Lawrence....424, 441
Tamarois....321, 322, 323, 327
Taylor, Joshua L., a pioneer of Minnesota....55
Taylor, Zachary, President of United States....78
Taylor, Messrs., pioneer lumbermen....478
Territory of Minnesota, its organization....53, 56, 61
Teton Sioux, or Titonwans, &c....47, 95, 257, 258, 259, 296, 336
Thibault, Rev. J. B., early Missionary on Saskatchewan River....222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